

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 12. No. 8.—New Series.]

AUGUST 1, 1864.

{Price Fourpence Stamped
Threepence Unstamped

CONTENTS.

Monthly Summary	173	Petition from Jamaica against the Slave-trade.....	186
Parliamentary Record	175, 189	Cessation of Hostilities in America.....	187
Notice to Subscribers.....	183	Mr. Cobden on the American Question...	196
Levi Collin's Mission to England	183	Free Labour in North Carolina	196
The Aberdeen Act	183		

Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—The consecration of the Rev. Samuel Crowther, D.D., as Bishop of the Niger territory, took place in Canterbury Cathedral, on the 29th June ult. The service was conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Gloucester and Bristol, and Victoria.

The Company of African Merchants (Limited) have just issued their first report. The Board sent out Mr. Wm. Craft, as the Company's Agent, to Dahomey. The report says he has been very well received, and the King has granted him the free use of spacious and substantial factories, formerly used as barracoons, and has paid over considerable sums for goods which he had ordered through the Company. The people gave Mr. Craft a welcome reception, calling him "a truthful black Englishman."

On Monday evening, 27th June ult., Mr. Washington Wilks, who, since the institution of the London Emancipation Society, had rendered himself prominent as an advocate of the anti-slavery cause, died suddenly while addressing a meeting on the subject of reform, which was being held at the St. Pancras Vestry Hall. Mr. Wilks was a member of the Executive Committee of the Emancipation Society, and drew up its first appeal to the public. We observe that a Committee has been formed to raise a testimonial fund in favour of his family. On the list of the

Committee we find the names of Mr. Richard Cobden, M.P., Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., Mr. George Wilson, Mr. William Evans, Mr. Edmond Beales, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. William Shaen, and other known gentlemen. In a brief address to the public the Committee observe: "Those who are familiar with the brief but active career of the late Mr. Wilks know that he was unceasing in his advocacy of liberal principles, and that he placed his rare and noble powers of speech at the disposal of the public movements in which he was interested, with a total disregard of his own health or pecuniary interests. Mr. Wilks having unhappily died without being able to make an adequate provision for his widow and children, and their claims upon the generous feeling of reformers being so unquestionable, the Committee has been formed in the hope that a considerable fund may be raised for their benefit." Mr. W. Hargreaves is the Treasurer and Mr. W. F. Chesson the Hon. Secretary of the fund, their offices being at 65 Fleet Street.

On Friday, the 15th ult., a deputation from a Society calling itself "The Society for obtaining the cessation of hostilities in America," waited upon Viscount Palmerston, to urge Her Majesty's Government to take steps to bring about peace between the belligerents. A report will be found in another column.

The Rev. Dr. Livingstone arrived in London on Saturday evening, the 23rd ult. He was at the Weigh-House Chapel next

morning (Rev. T. Binney's), when thanks were offered for his safety. Many of the congregation assembled at the doors as he drove away with Mr. Binney, and were evidently deeply interested by the sight of the distinguished traveller.

On the 28th June ult., Lord Brougham brought under the notice of the House the present position of the slave-trade question with reference to Brazil, proposing the repeal of the Aberdeen Act of 1845. Earl Russell, Earl Fortescue, and Lord Houghton, took part in the discussion, the result of which was adverse to Lord Brougham's suggestion.

On Tuesday, the 12th ult., Mr. Hardcastle asked Lord Palmerston a question respecting the treatment, by the Brazilian Government, of certain liberated Africans, which proved the occasion for a very interesting discussion upon our present relations with Brazil. Viscount Palmerston went quite out of his way to attack and abuse the Brazilian Government, and was at once taken to task by Mr. Bright, on a motion for the adjournment of the House. A full report will be found in our Parliamentary record.

On the 18th ult., Lord Brougham presented a petition to the House of Lords, from the city and parish of Kingston, Jamaica, on the subject of the continuance of the slave-trade to Cuba, a copy of which will be found in another column. His lordship called attention to the difference between the conduct of Brazil and Spain, and again urged the repeal of the Aberdeen Act. Earl Russell and Earl Malmesbury replied, the latter expressing the view that the Act of 1845 ought to be repealed.

On Monday evening, the 25th ult., Mr. Lindsay asked Lord Palmerston whether the Government intended to mediate between the belligerents in America. His lordship replied, that although regretting the war, Her Majesty's Government had no intention of mediating.

AFRICA.—On the 14th June ult., a suspected slaver, flying the Spanish colours, was brought into Sierra Leone by Her Majesty's steam-ship *Ariel*. She had been previously detained by the frigate *Narcissus* while on the leeward coast, and, report says, had about 30,000*l.* in specie on board.

A large steam sugar-mill was opened, with great ceremony, at Millsburg, Liberia, on the 28th April, on the estate of Mr. Lloyd. The mill is said to have cost 3000*l.* The President of the Republic made a suitable speech on the occasion.

A slave-steamer had made her appearance off the coast of Dahomey, but was driven off by the cruisers. She was too

fleet to be captured, but some five and thirty shots were fired at her. Her intention seemed to be to embark slaves at Aghwey, not very far distant from Quittah.

We some time since heard, with deep regret, of the death of William Horsell, a member of the Society of Friends, who, with Mr. and Miss Bischopf, had a short time before left England on a philanthropic mission to West Africa. The decease is now announced of Mr. and Miss Bischopf, at Abbeokuta.

SWITZERLAND.—An address of sympathy has been issued by the people of Geneva to the people of the United States. It reminds the latter that Switzerland has also had her intestine struggles, and that she has issued from them stronger than she was before. It will be the same with the United States. The address says that the Confederates have not a single just complaint against the Federal Government, and that their object in rebellion is simply to maintain Slavery. It hopes that no European Government will lower itself so far as to recognise a Power established upon such a basis.

UNITED STATES.—*Congressional*.—Mr. Sumner has inserted, in the Civil Appropriation Bill, a clause interdicting the inter-state slave-trade.

On the 23rd June, the Senate, by a vote of 22 to 17, agreed to a Bill repealing the Fugitive-Slave Law. It is as follows: "That sections 3 and 4 of an Act entitled 'an Act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters, passed February 12, 1793,' and an Act entitled an Act to amend and supplementary to the Act entitled 'an Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters,' passed February 12, 1793, passed September 1850, and the same are hereby repealed."

The War.—In our last issue, we left General Grant manœuvring from the James Peninsula, to operate against Richmond from a new base. On the 12th June he shifted his whole army in safety to the south side of the James River. General Smith advanced against the Confederate works at Petersburg, a town twenty-five miles south of Richmond, on the southern bank of the Appomatox. The assault was delivered against the outer defences on the 13th, which were captured, chiefly through the valour of the coloured troops. On the 17th, Grant assailed the interior line of defences, but Lee, having rapidly massed his entire forces there, the Federals were repulsed, with a loss in killed, wounded, and disabled, estimated

at from 6000 to 8000 men. Grant, however, maintained his intrenched line within a mile of the city. From the 15th to the 17th, Butler and his troops were occupied in destroying several miles of the Petersburg and Richmond railway, after which they returned to Bermuda Hundred. Similar operations against other lines communicating direct with Richmond, had also been carried forward, with greater or less success. At the date of the latest advices, General Grant was preparing heavy batteries to besiege Petersburg.

Probably with a view to divert Grant from his purpose, General Lee detached from his own army, a force estimated at from 20,000 to 40,000 men, which early in July crossed the Potomac at several points. This force was commanded by Generals Early, Breckenridge, Ransom, and Imboden. Its appearance caused great dismay. It destroyed nearly all the bridges on the North Central Railroad, and captured two Baltimore trains at Maguelia station, taking General Franklin and his staff prisoners. It also burnt the Governor of Maryland's residence, four miles from Baltimore. The telegraph and railroad at Bladensburg and Beltsville, between Baltimore and Washington, were cut, and fighting was going on seven miles from Washington, on the Seventh Street Road. The Confederates seem to have operated in detached bodies. One force occupied Harper's Ferry, which they evacuated on the morning of the 8th, after destroying some public buildings and a large portion of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at that point. Another force, under General Bradley Johnson, on the 6th, drove the Federal garrison out of Hagerstown, which they occupied. On the following day Johnson's troops appeared before Frederick, and were about overpowering the Federal garrison, when General Wallace, who had mustered quite a large force, came up and forced them to retire. They were also repulsed in an attempt to capture the brigade over the Monocacy river. On the evening of the 8th they had retired on the Hagerstown road to a point about five miles from Frederick. General Wallace was in pursuit. A small cavalry force captured Greencastle, Pennsylvania, on the 7th, but only held the place a few hours, when they moved off towards Hagerstown. Finally, the invading corps, after making a demonstration against Fort Stephen, retired from before Washington, and re-crossed the Potomac, with immense quantities of plunder.

Telegraphic communication with Washington had been re-established, and the invasion was considered at an end.

In the South-west, General Sherman

had arrived before the defences of Atlanta, Georgia.

Miscellaneous. — The venerable Josiah Quincy has recently died at Boston, in the 93rd year of his age. By profession he was a lawyer. He entered public life more than fifty years ago, was successively State Senator in Massachusetts, representative in Congress, a member of the Lower House of the Massachusetts Legislature, judge of the Municipal Court in Boston, mayor of the city, and President of Harvard University; and found time, besides, to add valuable contributions to our historical literature. Mr. Quincy was a prominent member of the Massachusetts Peace Society.

Mr. Lincoln has set apart the 4th of August as a day of humiliation and prayer. He exhorts the people to pray for the early suppression of the rebellion before the Southern people are entirely destroyed.

The Constitutional Convention of Maryland, in session at Annapolis, has passed, by a vote of 53 yeas against 27 nays, the following article of the Bill of Rights:

"Hereafter in this State there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and all persons held to service or labour as slaves are hereby declared free.

Mr. Chase has resigned office. The reason alleged was a disagreement with Mr. Lincoln in reference to appointments in the Treasury Department. Mr. Senator Tessenenden, of Maine, has been appointed in his place.

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD. HOUSE OF LORDS.

(Tuesday, June 28th.)

REPEAL OF THE ABERDEEN ACT.

LORD BROUGHAM rose to call the attention of their lordships to the subject of which he had given notice—he meant the state of the Brazilian slave-trade—and it gave him the utmost satisfaction, having so often complained of Portugal rather than Brazil for the increase of that trade, to be able to state, as he did most confidently, that that trade had entirely ceased. This was owing to the complete change which had taken place in the extinction of the Portuguese ascendancy, and the conduct of affairs being in the hands of Brazilians. Would he could say of the Cuba or Spanish slave-trade, as of the Brazilian slave-trade, that there remained of it not a vestige! He might be excused for stating the particulars of the cessation, because he meant on these particulars, and on the clear proof that the trade had ceased, to ground a recommendation to his noble friend opposite for the repeal of what was called the Aberdeen Act, passed in 1845. They were all of opinion, at the time of the passing of that Act, that it was, he would not say a most violent, but certainly an extreme

measure, and only to be justified by the absolute necessity of the case. There was a Committee of the House of Commons in 1853 moved for, and presided over, by Mr. Hume. That Committee collected a great mass of evidence respecting the Portuguese and Spanish slave-trade, and in that Committee there was also given the most complete proof of the entire abolition of the Brazilian slave-trade. It had been increasing very much in 1845. In 1842 the number of slaves imported into Brazil was 17,000. In 1846 it increased to 50,000, and in 1848 it was no less than the enormous number of 60,000. In consequence of the nature of the Brazilian coast and its numerous small bays, our squadron, notwithstanding the zealous efforts of our gallant officers, had not succeeded in extirpating the traffic; nevertheless, in 1849 the number had fallen from 60,000 to 54,000. In 1850 it fell to 23,000; in 1851 to 3000; in 1852 to 700; and in 1853 there were absolutely none. The Emperor on all occasions shewed the most determined resolution to effect the abolition of this trade, and, by the employment of additional steamers and the adoption of other regulations, he took measures both to put an end to it and to prevent its revival. In opening the Session of 1853 the Emperor thus spoke: "A respect for treaties, as well as a regard for our own interests, urgently demand, not only that the African slave-trade should completely cease, but that its revival should become impossible. My ministers will point out to you the measures which appear still to be required in order to accomplish these two objects." In 1850 a law, proposed by the Emperor, and accepted by both Chambers, was unanimously made, which made the slave-trade piracy, and established a special court for the trial of such offences, which had a most admirable effect. The fact was, that the general public feeling of Brazil was adverse to the slave-trade, as was shewn by the fact, that at the elections for both the general Parliament and the provincial ones, the successful candidates were persons who had been most active in the suppression of the trade, and the detection and punishment of offenders; and it was only supported by a few planters. The Government gave great encouragement to the immigration of free labourers, and it was found that, while the profits upon plantations cultivated by slaves amounted to only 8 per cent., those obtained from plantations where free-labour was employed reached 14 per cent. The result was, that the Committee of the House of Commons, to which he had referred, reported that the Brazilian slave-trade had entirely ceased, and that there was no reason to apprehend its revival. The Aberdeen Act was always acknowledged to be an extreme measure, justified only by the extreme necessity of the case, and the refusal of the Brazilian Government to renew the Convention which had just then expired; and Lord Aberdeen himself, in his correspondence with our envoy at Rio, spoke of it as only a temporary measure, intended to meet a special occasion. In his despatch to Mr. Hamilton, our minister at Rio, July 2, 1845, he says: "Her Majesty's Government are far from wishing this mode of adjudicating slave vessels to be permanent: they will be ready to

recommend to Parliament the repeal of the Bill now brought forward as soon as the measures of the Brazilian Government enable them to do so, or as soon as the slave-trade has entirely ceased." But in 1853 the traffic had entirely ceased, and the testimony of Mr. Christie is decisive on this head. He was much prejudiced against the Brazil Government. Indeed, he ascribed to it his recall from his situation; and the award of King Leopold, to whom his dispute with that Government had been referred, being against him, did not much lessen these prejudices. Yet he says distinctly, in his despatch of July 26, 1863, "There is no possibility of a revival of the Brazilian slave-trade." He strongly blames that Government for making no efforts to abolish Slavery, but the question is as to the slave-trade, which alone the Aberdeen Act refers to, and that, Mr. Christie says, is utterly abolished, and cannot be revived. The Committee of the Commons had reported, that on this ground, in accordance with the pledge given to the Brazilian Government, that Act should be repealed; and if it is asked why no movement to this effect had been made since 1853, the answer is obvious: it was best to wait till we saw that there had been no revival of the traffic. But now the lapse of so many years has shewn that no revival has happened, and Mr. Christie pronounces it to be impossible. It was a special measure, forced on us by necessity, and which from the immunity under the indemnity section, has proved most offensive. The repeal would restore us to kindly intercourse with the Brazils, where our commerce is most important. He (Lord Brougham) could not, he was sorry to observe, say so much for Spain as he had for Brazil. Spain had entered into a treaty with us, by which we agreed to give her a large sum of money in consideration of her abolishing her slave-trade, and taking actual measures for that purpose; but the only part of the treaty which she had performed was to receive the money, leaving undone that for which it was to be given. He was afraid, indeed, that so long as Cuba was under the Spanish Government it would be found impossible to procure the passing of good local measures for the abolition of the infernal traffic. The result of the distribution of gold by the slave-dealers, and the large profits which they made by this trade, was, that they were able to corrupt the Governors of Cuba, who, with but few exceptions, were thus made partners in the guilt. What was once said by the great Roman orator against the pro-consul of Sicily (Decius), whose name, having come down to us with that of his illustrious accuser, is sadly and strictly applicable to the Spanish pro-consuls of Cuba: "Nothing too sacred to be violated by money, nothing too firm to be shaken." (*Nihil tam sanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum quod non expugnari pecunia possit.*) These Spanish Governors, sent out to repair their ruined fortunes, are bribed by the slave-traders, and encourage rather than check this execrable traffic. There are, however, exceptions, and, happily, the present Governor-General Dulce is one. He has set himself against the slave-trade, severely punishing its perpetrators. It is to be hoped that Spain may at length do her duty, and appoint worthy successors to this Governor.

Earl RUSSELL was happy to say that the slave-trade of Brazil had been abolished by law, and did not in practice exist; but at the same time he could not state that, in his opinion, the abolition of the slave-trade was entirely owing to the change in policy in Brazil, and the laws that were passed in that country on the subject. The Aberdeen Act was a very severe Act, and the operation of it was severe, because, while the slave-trade was going on, and while that Act was in operation, his noble friend Lord Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary, gave orders through the Admiralty by which slavers were captured in the waters of Brazil. The execution of those orders gave great alarm to all the slave-traders in Brazil, and they soon found that it was no longer a profitable traffic. At the same time he readily confessed that under the policy which Brazil adopted and followed for many years, the Aberdeen Act had become inoperative. But if any party were to come into power which would endeavour to restore the slave-trade, they would have the opportunity of doing so if this Act were repealed. He (Earl Russell) could not see that that was the case. The Brazilian Government had chosen to suspend diplomatic relations with this country upon a ground that could mean nothing more than objection to the measures taken merely for the protection of the lives of British subjects in Brazil, and he could not think they were entitled, under those circumstances, to any great favour at the hands of this country. He regretted with his noble friend the continuance of the slave-trade in Cuba.

Lord BROUGHAM thought, if the noble earl would read the evidence taken before the House of Commons' Committee in 1853, he would be convinced that our squadron could not have the least effect on the Brazilian coast in stopping the slave-trade.

Lord HOUGHTON said, if the Brazilian Government would only let us have a mixed commission, as we had in Portugal, there would be no difficulty in repealing the Aberdeen Act. But the Brazilians had always refused this, and had stood upon their extreme rights as against the Aberdeen Act. The slave-trade had lapsed in Brazil, but principally because it was the interest of Brazil that it should do so. Something was due to Mr. Christie for the persistent manner in which, in spite of all opposition, he had done every thing in his power to improve the condition of the liberated Africans, and to encourage the Brazilian Government to take the first steps in the way of the emancipation of their slaves, and he believed that it was to that cause that Mr. Christie owed the enmity of the Brazilian Government towards him.

Earl FORTESCUE observed that Mr. Christie's conduct had received the approval of two successive Secretaries-of-State, and he regretted that that gentleman's name should have been needlessly introduced into the debate.

Lord BROUGHAM denied that it had been need-

lessly introduced, as Mr. Christie's was the best evidence of the cessation of the slave-trade in Brazil, and the impossibility of its revival.

The subject then dropped.

Monday, July 18th.

SLAVE TRADE IN CUBA.

Lord BROUGHAM rose to present a petition from Jamaica relative to the slave-trade in Cuba, and to draw attention to the Spanish slave-trade. The noble and learned lord said that, looking back to a parliamentary life of considerable duration, nothing gave him so much satisfaction as to reflect upon the Acts for the abolition of the slave-trade, to which he had had the good fortune to obtain the assent of both Houses of Parliament—Acts treating the slave-trade not as contraband, not as trade at all, but as a great crime. Next to that his satisfaction was great in reflecting on the course he took with the concurrence of both Houses in shortening the period of apprenticeship, which, by the Act of 1834, was substituted for Slavery. These two Acts, he rejoiced to say, had been most successful. The former Act of 1811 completely removed this country from all share in this execrable crime of the slave-trade, and so completely, that only one or two prosecutions took place under it. With regard to the emancipation and the shortening of the period of negro apprenticeship, he rejoiced to say that the poor slaves had proved themselves worthy of the favour shewn to them by the legislature of this country and the colonial assemblies, for in the whole of our colonies, notwithstanding all predictions to the contrary, there had not been the slightest insurrection or disturbance, but the most perfect tranquillity. It was a matter of great satisfaction that these poor people had proved themselves worthy of their freedom, not only by their good conduct but by their improvement. Three years ago he presented a petition to their lordships from a meeting in Jamaica, which was attended only by slaves who had gained their freedom, signed by 800, and of that number it was a very remarkable circumstance that only two signed it with a mark, the other 798 having learned to write and sign their names. He would next call their lordships' attention to the manner in which Spain had set at nought her treaty obligations and continued the slave-trade. He was not one of those who thought that under no circumstances was interference in foreign affairs justifiable; and in the present case he contended that, not only for the sake of humanity, but for the sake of justice to our countrymen in the colonies, our interference was called for. The island of Cuba was well-known for its fertility, and its soil was especially adapted for the cultivation of the sugar-cane. A few years ago only one-nineteenth was cultivated. Since that time the cultivation had considerably increased, but for the purpose of this increased cultivation, and in order to enable the planters

to make enormous profits, slaves had been imported to a very large extent. The petitioners complained that they could not stand competition with slave-grown sugar. The money which Parliament had honourably voted to them as compensation for emancipation was not a sufficient compensation, but they suffered more from competition with Cuba than they did from the emancipation of their slaves. Spain had entered into a treaty by which she engaged to pass laws to abrogate Slavery, but after the lapse of many years the slave-trade existed more extensively than ever in this colony. Under the treaty, Spain was to receive 400,000*l.*, but giving a receipt for that large sum of money was the only part of the treaty which she had performed. She engaged to make the slave-trade piracy, but the laws she passed on the subject rather tended to protect than to suppress that trade. According to the report of Mr. Crawford, a member of the mixed commission at Havana, the slave-trade with Cuba had greatly increased, and in 1860 no less than 40,000 negroes were imported into the island. In truth, the governors of Cuba were bribed to connive at the traffic. It was well-known that broken-down Spanish grandees were sent to Cuba to recruit their fortunes by engaging in that trade, and it was no uncommon thing for a governor to return home with 80,000*l.*, or 90,000*l.* in his pocket. Moreover, instances had occurred in which the authorities had gone so far as to punish persons who wrote or spoke against the slave-trade. What then was to be done? The answer was simple. Our fellow-subjects in the West Indies complained, and complained justly, of the injury inflicted upon them by the differential duties on sugar, and they prayed that slave-grown sugar should pay more than free-grown sugar. When he brought forward this subject on a former occasion, he was supported by the late Lord Ashburton, by the late Lord Denman, and by the great Duke of Wellington. He could not help saying that Spain, of all countries in the world, ought to listen to the advice of the late Duke of Wellington, to whom she owed her existence as an independent nation. He contended that it was absolutely necessary there should be an increase in the number of gunboats, and he had no doubt that that increase would be made. They had a duty to perform in compelling Spain to observe her obligations. The slave-trade in Brazil had ceased to exist, and he had the authority of Mr. Christy, a man by no means likely to be favourable to Brazil, that its revival was an absolute impossibility. But in the matter of the emancipation they had behaved badly. Lord Aberdeen, in his despatch of the 2nd July, 1845, said he was sorry that he was compelled to bring in the Aberdeen Act, and that he should be exceedingly glad to see it repealed when the slave-trade was abolished or the treaty renewed. The planters themselves were against the slave-

trade, and they had made it impossible that it should be revived in Brazil. The government of that country had promoted this result by making the carrying on of the slave-trade piracy, and punishing it as such. In conclusion, the noble and learned lord presented a petition from Jamaica, agreed to at a public meeting, and signed by the bishop, against the Cuba slave-trade.

Earl RUSSELL said that every one must acknowledge the great services which the noble and learned lord had rendered to the cause of the abolition of Slavery. It had been abolished entirely in the British colonies, but when they made further efforts to abolish the slave-trade in foreign colonies, the question was one of much greater difficulty; for in our own colonies the Government had to deal with their own officers, and in foreign places they had to deal with Governments and officers not under their control. As to the slave-trade in Cuba, he was sorry to say they had had from one foreign secretary after another the assurance that they had condemned and remonstrated against the conduct of Spain, but they had never been able to secure the entire abolition of the trade. The Spanish Government always professed their readiness to carry out the treaty, but somehow or another private interests had been so strong as to prevent the Government from taking any vigorous steps to repress this trade. His noble and learned friend suggested a differential duty as a remedy, but this would have no effect, because the produce would readily find its way to France, Russia, and other countries, and the effect of our differential duty would at least be very small.

The Earl of MALMESBURY said he must bear testimony to the great efforts of his noble and learned friend to secure the entire abolition of Slavery, but he thought the noble earl opposite would bear him out when he said that private interest was exerted to keep up the slave-trade. The Government of Brazil, however, were not to blame, for they had been using their influence to put down this trade. Under these circumstances he felt that the condemnation passed upon the Brazilian Government by a noble lord in another place was calculated unjustly to wound the feelings of that Government. He could not help saying that the time had nearly arrived when the Aberdeen Act might be done away with. In the last conversation he had with the late Earl of Aberdeen, that noble lord said it would afford him great pleasure to see the Act abolished.

Lord BROUGHAM briefly replied.

The subject then dropped.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 12th July.

BRAZIL AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. HARDCASTLE asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Brazilian Government

had fulfilled their obligations with regard to the Africans liberated by British cruisers, as to whom Earl Russell stated in a despatch of June 6, 1863, that "some thousands of negroes, captured in slave-trading vessels, and decreed many years ago by the mixed commission at Rio to be entitled to freedom, are, there is good reason to believe, up to the present time held in bondage, contrary to law, and in violation of treaty engagements?"

LORD PALMERSTON: Sir, I am sorry to be obliged to say that the conduct of the Brazilian Government in regard to the slave-trade has invariably been marked by the greatest neglect and violation of treaty engagements. That led, as everybody knows, first to the Act of 1845, and afterwards to the proceedings under that Act in 1852. Their conduct with regard to the emancipados has been as flagrant a violation of their engagements as any other part of their conduct with respect to the slave-trade. By the slave-trade treaty, mixed commissions were appointed, one sitting in Brazil, which was composed of British and Brazilian judges, and they were to decree liberty to negroes found in slave-trading vessels which had been condemned as such by the mixed court. Well, these captured negroes were entitled to their freedom; but the Brazilian Government said they would require preparation for freedom, and it was ordered that they should, for fourteen years, be subject to education by masters. Some were kept by the Brazilian Government, and some employed by private individuals, and we have reason to believe that none of them have obtained that freedom to which they were entitled. This has been a subject of frequent representations by the British Government, but those representations have been unattended to. We have asked for lists of these negroes, and we have not been able to obtain them. But the Brazilian Government have stated that there is a method by which these negroes may obtain, by their own act, their emancipation; and if the House will permit me, I will just state what that method is, and let them judge how far it is in accordance with the engagements of the Brazilian Government. In the first place, the negro is to ask from the chief clerk of the African department the attestation that fourteen years have expired. Then he is to petition the Government through the minister of justice. Thirdly, the minister of justice refers the petition to the judge of orphans. Fourthly, the judge of orphans gives information, and returns the petition to the minister of justice. Fifthly, the minister of justice refers the petition to the chief of police. Sixthly, the chief of police refers the petition to the general guardian of negroes. Seventhly, the guardian gives information and returns the petition to the chief of police. Eighthly, the chief of police refers the petition to the director of the house of correction. Ninthly, the director of the house of correction gives information, and sends the petition back to the chief of police. Tenthly, the chief of police gives information and sends back the petition to the office of the secretary of justice. Eleventhly, the office of the secretary of justice makes a *précis* of the information which is to be acted upon by the minister of justice him-

self. Twelfthly, the minister of justice orders a letter of freedom to be issued to the man. Now, one would think that the thing was done, and the negro free. Far from it. Thirteenthly, the petition is returned to the judge of orphans. Fourteenthly, notification of the decision made is sent to the chief of police. Fifteenthly, the judge of orphans refers the petition to his own clerk, and orders a letter of freedom to be given, but keeps it till the party applying for it shall have paid the respective emoluments, that is to say, all the expenses of the different proceedings. Sixteenthly, the letter is made over to the chief of police. Seventeenthly, the chief of police communicates with the director of the house of correction and orders the applicant to appear before him. Eighteenthly, the director sends for the applicant, and the chief of police designates his future place of residence. He is not allowed to go where he likes when he is a free man, but is fixed to a particular spot. Nineteenthly, the chief of police at Rio communicates with the provincial chief to whom the place designated belongs, and hands over the applicant with the letter to that provincial chief. Twentiethly, the provincial chief of police hands over the applicant and his letter of freedom to the police authorities at the place approved of by the chief of police at Rio as his place of banishment. He is removed from that place, where he has lived for fourteen years, and established connections. Now all the efforts which have been made to obtain justice for the emancipados have failed; and we have not been able ever to obtain a list of them. We know that when any of them have been assigned to an owner of land he has employed them in conjunction with his slaves, and when the slave has died he has had the emancipado put in his place, and reported the death of the emancipado, and not the death of the slave.

MR. FITZGERALD: In reference to the reply of the noble lord, I should like to ask one question. He commenced by saying that the Brazilian Government had pointed out means by which the emancipados could obtain their freedom. I should like to know whether those twenty steps are steps which have been pointed out in any despatch by the Brazilian Government, or whether, the Brazilian Government having stated that there were certain steps by which an emancipado could obtain his liberty, the noble lord has from some other source the account which he has given of the course the emancipado has to pursue. With reference to what fell first from the noble lord, namely, that the Brazilian Government had behaved in the most flagrant manner in regard to the slave-trade, I wish to know whether the Brazilian Government themselves have not entirely put down the slave-trade, Lord Brougham having, in another place, expressed his warm approbation of the efforts made by the Brazilian Government for that purpose.

LORD PALMERSTON: I do not know that this string of proceedings has ever been mentioned in any official communication from Brazil. I extracted it from a Brazilian newspaper, which gave it as an official document, and I believe it is perfectly correct. With regard to the other question which the hon. gentleman has asked, I am sure he must know full well, that if the

Brazilian Government have of late years, that is, since 1852, put an end to the slave-trade, it has been by compulsion, and not from conviction. The Act of 1845, proposed by Lord Aberdeen, lay for many years a dead letter. In the beginning of 1852, through the agency of Sir James Hudson, the provisions of that Act were brought in force, and after an ineffectual attempt of the Brazilian Government to evade them, they were compelled to submit. I am quite ready to admit that the Brazilian Government, having been compelled by force to do what the treaty bound them to do, have very wisely continued so to act. They passed fresh laws, they gave fresh orders to all their officers, and, in spite of the temptations which bribery naturally held out to many persons whose duty it was to stop the slave-trade, I do believe, that from that time to this the slave-trade has ceased, and I confess I take great credit to myself for having been instrumental in bringing about that result.

MR. BRIGHT: Mr. Speaker, I see that you object to my rising, but I was going to protest against the practice of the noble lord of making a speech on a matter of this nature when other members cannot reply. I shall take this opportunity of moving the adjournment of the house for the purpose of making one or two observations on this subject. I was not aware that any question was going to be put on this matter to-night; but on repeated occasions the noble lord has stated very much what he has done this evening. Now I should like to ask the noble lord whether he does not know that it was the opinion of Lord Aberdeen, who proposed the Brazilian Act, that that Act ought to be repealed—that the circumstances under which he had thought it was justified—although I believe every lawyer thought otherwise—had entirely passed away. Further, I would appeal to my right hon. friend the member for Ashton-under-Lyne (Mr. M. Gibson) what is his opinion upon this matter; for I think that on one occasion he brought forward a specific motion to repeal this Act.—Now I have had an opportunity of learning that that Act is one which gave the greatest offence to the Brazilian Government, Legislature, and people; and it was the opinion of the late Lord Trurc, who was no mean lawyer, that a more unjustifiable Act, and an Act more in defiance of international law, was never passed by any Legislature. Well, if that be so, and if the state of things by which it was justified has entirely passed away, and if, as we know, the relations between this country and Brazil have been of the most unpleasant kind from the day when that Act was passed up to this hour; and if, as we all know, until that Act is repealed, the relations between the two countries will have no chance whatever of being placed upon a friendly and proper basis, I think the noble lord might at last give up his obstinate adherence to what was originally an indefensible law, and has now not even the defence which the noble lord made for it. I think, that after the discussions of the last week, when, if the house did not come to a vote of censure, it did unanimously, at least with a general consent which I have never seen approached in any similar case, unanimously condemn the irritating and offensive policy of the

Foreign-office; I say I think the noble lord might have learnt something from that, and might consent now, as I believe the house would unanimously consent, to the abolition of an Act so difficult to defend when it was passed, having no reference to the existing state of circumstances, and not only calculated, but certain to produce, as long as it is on our statute-book, unpleasant relations and bickerings between England and Brazil—a country with which we have extensive commercial relations, which might, I believe, be much extended, if we had a Government that was at all disposed to meet the Brazilian Government in a friendly spirit. I believe that in the observations I have made, I have expressed very briefly the prevailing opinion in this House, and the universal opinion of those who are engaged in commercial transactions with Brazil. I do beg the noble lord, therefore, to reconsider this matter before the next session. It may be too late to introduce a measure this session, but if the noble lord should not be prepared to do so next session, I hope some member will then move for a Committee for the purpose of examining the whole question; and I believe that no fairly constituted Committee of this House would bring up a report supporting the policy of the noble lord. Between now and the next session of Parliament, no doubt the Brazilian question will come under the notice of the noble lord and the Foreign-office in connection with transactions to be referred to the King of Portugal. If that be so, the noble lord need not wait till the meeting of Parliament next session, but he can promise to do his best in the matter; and if he does that, I have not the smallest doubt we shall have every disputed point easily settled with Brazil, and the whole of our relations with that country will in future be carried on in an amicable manner, not more for the interest of that country than for the interest of the commercial classes of this nation.

Sir J. ELPHINSTONE would certainly support the appointment of the Committee suggested by the hon. gentleman. But it should also embrace our relations with the coast of Africa, which had become most serious. At this moment we had 3000 men dotted about that coast, and their condition was most appalling. Sixty per cent. of them were prostrated by the fever of that pestilential climate. The answers given by the Government in the discussions on this subject were essentially fallacious. The troops were in a state of starvation, the country in a state of famine, and the policy of maintaining the establishments on the coast was a matter the consideration of which could not long be deferred. There was another question which must also force itself on the attention of the Government. They maintained a squadron on the African coast at a cost of six or seven hundred thousand pounds per annum, and of that squadron not one ship except the *Rattlesnake* could go more than eight knots an hour. The consequence of that was, that discarded blockade runners were now employed to carry slaves, and our best cruisers on the coast were unable to prevent that. Now, if

that were the case, how should we be able to protect our vast commerce in case of any emergency? At this moment vessels were being built in this country capable of going fifteen or sixteen knots an hour, and they were to be engaged in carrying cargoes for the Confederate States. He had alluded to this subject in anticipation of the question respecting it which he had on the paper.

Mr. S. FITZGERALD: I am glad to take this opportunity of adding a few words to what has fallen from the noble lord. I desire to express the great regret with which this House must see the leader of the House take an opportunity, in replying to a simple question, of making an attack of this kind upon a Government with which, until lately, this country has been in friendly relations; and I would point out that the answer of the noble lord is only an amplification of the last despatch addressed by Earl Russell to the Brazilian Government, and to which, as far as this House is aware, no reply whatever has yet been returned. Therefore the position in which the noble lord puts himself is this: he makes a formal indictment against the Brazilian Government, which has no opportunity of making any defence. I cordially agree with the hon. member for Birmingham that never was there a greater violation of every principle of justice and international law than the passing of what is commonly called the Aberdeen Act; and though the noble lord takes credit for putting that Act in force, yet I have reason to know that no man doubted the justice and policy of that Act more than the noble earl whose name the Act bears; and that noble earl expressed his hope that now that the Brazilian Government have exerted themselves to put down the Brazilian slave-trade, that Act would be repealed. I quite agree with the hon. member for Birmingham in every word that he addressed to the House.

Lord PALMERSTON: I do not think that I am open to the reproaches of the hon. gentleman. I did not volunteer that statement. I was asked a question, and the answer to that question involved a statement which I know to be true. It is useless for the hon. member to deny its truth. He knows better. Therefore it is not worthy of the hon. gentleman—

Mr. S. FITZGERALD: I said I did not know it.

Lord PALMERSTON: Then I am sorry you are so ignorant. All that I have stated is to be found in the papers laid upon the table of the House, and the facts are unknown only to those who have not taken the trouble to read them. The hon. member for Birmingham has stated that this Act was a violation of international law.

Mr. BRIGHT: I quoted the opinion of Lord Truro.

Lord PALMERSTON: I am stating what the hon. gentleman said. All I can say is, that this Act is an exact counterpart of the Act

which it was my duty to propose to the house in the case in regard to Portugal, and therefore these two Acts must have been approved by the law-officers of two different Governments. The justification for the Acts is that Portugal and Brazil had each, by the treaty of 1826, pledged the honour of the crowns of their respective countries to abolish the slave-trade, and make it penal; and each had for a time consented to a treaty which gave the means to each of carrying that engagement into operation; but in the course of time it was found that each of these powers failed to do any thing. It was no doubt a violent measure, but we believed we were entitled to use our own power to carry it into effect. Everyone knows that at one time 7000 negroes were imported into Brazil every year; and everyone knows that to procure and land 7000 negroes in Brazil there must have been torn three times that number from their villages in Africa, and that this slave-trade, or rather piracy, was the cause of the depopulation of Africa, and of the extinction of its trade, and a cause of horrors and miseries to hundreds and thousands of people. Ever since the year 1815, the object of the English nation, as well as of the Government, has been to put an end to this abominable traffic. The hon. gentleman, I am sure, is one of those who think that the actions of nations have, under the dispensations of Providence, some influence on their well-being, and he is the last man to wish this nation to be the encourager of crime, for the sake of some small pecuniary or commercial advantage. I am convinced, and everybody who has turned his attention to this subject must be convinced that if this Act were repealed the Brazilian slave-trade would revive. (A VOICE: "Not at all.") People say that opinion in Brazil is altered, and that respectable men in Brazil earnestly condemned this traffic; but the slave-trade is not carried on by respectable men, but by the scum of the earth in all countries, who bribe subordinate officers to prevent the detection of their crimes; and depend upon it where there is a power of evading the law the law will be evaded. Look at what happened in Spain and Cuba. Spain is bound by treaty to abolish the slave-trade. That was the only reward we asked for our assistance in the war of independence. We said we asked for a slave-trade treaty, and we got it. But we found, time after time, that a slave-trade with Cuba existed in spite of that treaty. And so it would with Brazil if this Act were repealed. Take another example, the example of France. Or take Portugal in the first instance. Portugal made a slave-trade treaty in return for the repeal of that treaty which Lord Aberdeen proposed to the house. But had the Portuguese slave-trade ceased? No, there is still a constant exportation of slaves from the Portuguese possessions in Africa, and more unjustifiably, because the Spaniards imported slaves

into Cuba to cultivate their soil; whereas the Portuguese exported them out of their possessions in Africa. Then there was the case of France. France abolished, not only the slave-trade, but Slavery itself. Well, what happened some few years ago? Under the pretence of exporting from Africa free labourers, a slave-trade to all intents and purposes was begun, and we had the utmost difficulty in prevailing on the French Government to put an end to that traffic. It could only be accomplished on the terms of allowing the French Government and colonies to export coolies from our possessions in India. I am quite aware of the existence of the Aberdeen Act: although, since 1852, it has been a dead letter, and the Brazilians have had nothing to complain of its practical operation, it is yet a thorn in their side. Those who wish to carry on the slave-trade find it an obstacle, and those who do not wish to carry it on think it a reproach. But I attach so much importance to the carrying out of the principles and determination of the British nation to put an end to the slave-trade, that, much as I value the goodwill and friendship of Brazil, if the two things were put in the scale—the friendship of Brazil and the suppression of the slave-trade—I would sacrifice the friendship of Brazil for the sake of suppressing the slave-trade.

LORD J. MANNERS: I do not think the horrors of the slave-trade are the practical question before us. When the noble lord mentions the case of Spain and Cuba, and tells us of the inefficacy of the treaty with Spain, and of the efficiency of the Aberdeen Act in Portugal and Brazil, why does not the noble lord ask Parliament to legislate in the same manner in the case of Spain?

LORD PALMERSTON: There is a treaty with Spain.

LORD J. MANNERS: But the noble lord says it is quite inefficacious. But this is not the first time that the noble lord has taken the liberty of abusing every country from which he differed. I remember another debate in which the noble lord was remonstrated with in regard to his language towards this very Government of Brazil. I join the hon. member for Birmingham in protesting against the manner in which the noble lord, as representative of a great State, has spoken of a small State. The noble lord tells us that he is only stating what is in the Blue-books. But the noble lord has before declared that he was reading out of a newspaper. I do not, however, wish to prolong the discussion, but I must protest against the language which has been used by the noble lord to an independent Power; and I have very little hope of the establishment of satisfactory relations between this country and Brazil, or any other state, when the Prime Minister of England permits himself to use such language.

SIR J. HAY said he wished to say a few words with regard to what had been said about

our attempt to put down Slavery on the coast of Africa. The hon. member for Portsmouth had told the house that we were maintaining a squadron of eighteen steam vessels on that coast, of which not more than one, the *Rattlesnake*, could steam more than eight and a half knots an hour. It then appeared that seventeen of these vessels were unfit for the service in which they were engaged. Some time since four of our vessels endeavoured to catch one of these swift slavers, but they attempted in vain to arrest her progress; and the speed of these slave cruisers was now so great, that the officer in command of the station had found it necessary to issue an order to the effect that they were to allow no temptation to draw them off their stations. The result of this was, that our vessels were obliged to remain at anchor at spots along the coast wherever slaves were likely to be taken off; but if they saw one of these slavers in the offing they were not to give chase, since it was not probable they would catch her.

LORD C. PAGET said that there were no doubt a great many slavers off the coast, constructed in America, which our cruisers could not catch, but no doubt there was a great deal of exaggeration in the report which the hon. member (Sir J. Elphinstone) had given of the state of our squadron along the African coast. It should be remembered that we were obliged to employ vessels that were very roomy and airy for that service.

SIR J. PAKINGTON said he could not help thinking that the noble lord at the head of the Government had made use of expressions of remarkable discourtesy. The noble lord had imputed to his hon. friend (Mr. Fitzgerald) that he must have known the reverse of what he stated. Then the noble lord followed that up by imputing to his hon. friend great ignorance if he did not know it. The noble lord, in the first instance, with regard to a particular point, so far from saying that he was reading from a despatch, said in his, (Sir J. Pakington's) hearing, and in that of the House, that he was reading from a newspaper. The noble lord had now handed over to that side of the House some leaves extracted from a Blue-book. He (Sir J. Pakington) wished to ask the hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, when the papers were laid on the table?

MR. LAYARD said that at the present moment he was unable to say at what date they were presented.

The motion was then withdrawn.

(Continued on p. 189.)

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, AUGUST 1, 1864.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR Subscribers are solicited to take notice that their Subscriptions to the Anti-Slavery Society's Funds, and to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, fall due on the 1st of January every year. They are respectfully requested to forward the amounts due, by Post-office Order, payable to L. A. Chamerovzow, at the Post-office, Moorgate Street, E.C., London.

Subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* who desire to receive their copies stamped, are asked to intimate their wish, in order that the publisher may regulate his order for stamps accordingly. The neglect of this precaution exposes the publisher to a loss of stamps, which it is his desire to avoid in future.

LEVI COFFIN'S MISSION TO ENGLAND.

LEVI COFFIN, of Cincinnati, a member of the Society of Friends, has come to England for the purpose of advocating the cause of the refugees in the United States, who have been emancipated in consequence of the war, either by running away, or by being abandoned by their former masters. We have already given prominence in our columns to the condition of these unfortunate people, and therefore need not now further dwell upon the subject. Mr. Coffin comes highly recommended, and has himself been instrumental in rescuing many slaves, while the Fugitive-Slave Law—now happily repealed—was in full force. After a preliminary meeting, held at the close of June, at Dr. Hodgkin's, another was held at the house of Mr. Samuel Gurney, M.P., President of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, when a Committee was organized to promote the objects of Mr. Coffin's mission. The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* passed the following resolution, at their last general meeting, on Friday, the 1st July:

RESOLUTION.

"The Committee, having examined the credentials of Levi Coffin, of Cincinnati, and being satisfied that the object of his mission to England is most worthy, and that he is himself in every respect deserving of confidence, have great pleasure in commending the cause of the freedmen of the United States, as advocated by him, to the prompt and kind consideration, and especially to the

liberality of the friends of the coloured race in this country.

(Signed)

"SAMUEL GURNEY, *President*.

"EDMUND STURGE, *Chairman of Comtee.*

"L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, *Secretary.*"

THE ABERDEEN ACT.

THE question of the repeal of the Aberdeen Act has assumed so much importance, that we trust our readers will not complain of our devoting an unusually large space to the discussions which have taken place upon it. It is now desirable to place on record the remarkable despatch of the Earl of Aberdeen to Mr. Hamilton, British Minister at Rio, when the Act was in contemplation. It contains the explicit undertaking to repeal the Act, in the event of one of two contingencies: the most important, namely, the total cessation of the slave-trade, having become an accomplished fact, leaves the British Government without an excuse for continuing so obnoxious a measure in force. We hope the next session of Parliament will not pass over without the repeal of the Act.

We append, as first in order, the despatch above alluded to, and call attention to the passages we have underlined.

"THE EARL OF ABERDEEN TO MR. HAMILTON.

"Foreign Office, July 2, 1845.

"SIR,—It is with regret that Her Majesty's Government have found themselves compelled to appeal to the rights and obligations attaching to Her Majesty under the 1st Article of the Convention of 1826 between Great Britain and Brazil, upon slave-trade; but the notification made to you on the 12th of March last by the Senhor E. F. Fiança, on the part of the Brazilian Government, that they considered the Convention of July 1817, as adopted by Brazil, must cease on the 13th of that month, and the apparent absence of all intention to join in any definite and practical measures for the performance of the engagement by which they continue bound, has left to Her Majesty's Government no other course than to provide for themselves the means of carrying those rights into effective execution.

"For it is unhappily notorious that vessels intended for slave-trade are fitted out almost daily in the ports of Brazil; that of the slave ships met with in the African seas, three-fourths are under the imperial flag, or are prosecuting the trade on account of Brazilian subjects; that along the southern coast of the empire there is scarcely a creek where a landing is practicable which has not become known as a resort and a refuge to slave-dealers; that the importation of human beings as slaves into Brazil, far from being discountenanced as a violation of law and treaty, is favoured by the local authorities, and that even in the Legislative Assemblies the trade is avowed as one in respect to which it is not

necessary, or even becoming, that the Government should keep the faith of their treaties with Great Britain.

"When, therefore, that Government declared its determination to relinquish the means hitherto adopted in concert between the high contracting parties for fulfilling the convention of 1826, Her Majesty's Government found themselves called upon to choose between leaving the slave-trade to flourish and increase, in spite of the obligations imposed, and the rights conferred on them by that Convention, or recurring to such other means as are open to Great Britain for carrying its avowed object into effect.

"Her Majesty's Government have felt it their duty to choose the latter course; and accordingly they have prepared, and are about to submit to Parliament, a Bill giving to Her Majesty's Courts of Admiralty the power to take cognizance of, and to adjudicate upon, all vessels captured for carrying on the slave-trade contrary to the Convention of 1826; a power from which these courts have hitherto been specially debarred by the Act of Parliament originally passed for carrying that Convention into execution, in consideration that provisions were therein adopted for the maintenance of those mixed tribunals which the Brazilian Government has now determined to dissolve.

"Her Majesty's Government, however, are far from wishing this mode of adjudicating those vessels to be permanent.

"They will be ready, so soon as any measures of the Brazilian Government shall enable them to do so, to recommend to Parliament to repeal the Bill now about to be brought forward; but whilst the present state of things continues, and until either the slave-trade of Brazil shall have entirely ceased, or the Brazilian Government shall have entered into an engagement with Great Britain jointly to carry into execution the declared intention of the parties of the Convention of 1826, that course will not be open to them.

"You are already aware that the measure by which, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the Government of Brazil would best evince their determination to carry out the intention which they have so solemnly recorded, would be the negotiation of a treaty similar either to that concluded between Great Britain and Spain in 1835, or to that between Great Britain and Portugal of 1842.

"Should the Brazilian Government shew any willingness to entertain the question of such a treaty, you will frankly declare that nothing would give Her Majesty's Government more sincere pleasure than to find themselves relieved by the conclusion of it from enforcing the operation of the Bill which they are now about to propose to Parliament; and you will assure the Brazilian ministers that it will be a source of real satisfaction to Her Majesty's Government to return to a good understanding, both on this and on other subjects, with a nation in whose welfare and independence they have, from the earliest times, taken a lively interest, and whose growing prosperity and power they have witnessed with the greatest gratification.

"I am, &c.,

"(Signed) ABERDEEN."

In the copious report of the proceedings in the House of Commons upon the motion of Mr. Osborne, will be found an excellent historical summary of the whole question, as presented by him in the course of his very lucid and forcible address; but that our friends may at any time have access to the text of the Act, we place it on record, and would especially direct their attention to the 5th, or indemnity clause, which is so comprehensive, that any outrage upon vessels engaged in lawful trade may be committed under its shelter. It is obvious to reason, that no vessel whatever can be ascertained to be "carrying on the African slave-trade," unless she be overhauled, and as African slavers do not usually advertise their character by flying at their mast-head a black flag or any other distinctive signal, it follows that ships prosecuting legal enterprises may be subjected to search, and sustain, by detention on suspicion, very considerable loss, not to mention the actual insult to the Brazilian flag. That, under these circumstances, the Brazilian Government has legitimate grounds of complaint, is now admitted, on almost all hands, and we cannot wonder that it should desire its prompt repeal.

"ANNO OCTAVO AND NONO VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

"CAP. CXII.

"An Act to amend an Act, intituled *An Act to carry into execution a Convention between His Majesty and the Emperor of Brazil, for the Regulation and final Abolition of the African Slave-trade.*

[8th August, 1845.]

"WHEREAS a Convention was concluded between His late Majesty King George the Fourth and the Emperor of Brazil, for the regulation and final abolition of the African slave-trade, and signed at Rio de Janeiro on the Twenty-third day of November, One thousand eight hundred and twenty-six: And whereas by the said Convention it was agreed between the high contracting parties to adopt, for the purpose and period therein referred to, the several articles and provisions of the treaties concluded between His said late Majesty and the King of Portugal on this subject on the Twenty-second day of January, One thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and on the Twenty-eighth day of July, One thousand eight hundred and seventeen, and the several explanatory articles which had been added thereto, with the instructions, regulations, and forms of instruments annexed to the treaty of the said Twenty-eighth day of July, One thousand eight hundred and seventeen, and to appoint forthwith Mixed Commissions for adjudicating the cases of vessels detained under the provisions of the aforesaid Convention of

the Twenty-third day of November, One thousand eight hundred and twenty-six: And whereas such Mixed Commissions were accordingly appointed: And whereas an Act was passed in the eighth year of the reign of His said late Majesty to carry that Convention into execution, intituled 'An Act to carry into execution a Convention between His Majesty and the Emperor of Brazil, for the regulation and final abolition of the slave-trade:' And whereas on the Twelfth day of March, One thousand eight hundred and forty-five, it was notified by the Imperial Government of Brazil to Her Majesty's Government, that the British and Brazilian Mixed Commissions established at Rio de Janeiro and Sierra Leone would cease on the Thirteenth day of the said month of March; but that the Imperial Government would agree that the said Mixed Commissions should continue for six months longer, for the sole purpose of adjudicating the cases pending, and those which might have occurred before the said Thirteenth day of March: And whereas it has become necessary to provide for the adjudication of the cases of such vessels detained under the provisions of the said Convention of the Twenty-third day of November, One thousand eight hundred and Twenty-six, as were pending before the said Commissions or either of them, and remained undecided on the said Thirteenth day of March, and of the cases of such other vessels as may have been detained under the said Convention previously to the said Thirteenth day of March, but had not then been brought in for adjudication: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall be lawful for the said Mixed Commissions established at Rio de Janeiro and Sierra Leone to proceed up to the Thirteenth day of September in the current year in the adjudication of the cases of such vessels detained under the provisions of the said Convention of the Twenty-third day of November, One thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, as were pending before them or either of them, and remained undecided on the said Thirteenth day of March, and of the cases of such other vessels as may have been detained under the said Convention previously to the said Thirteenth day of March, but had not then been brought in for adjudication, in the same manner and with the like powers and authorities in all respects as they possessed and exercised under the said Convention and under the said Act of Parliament.

"II. And be it declared and enacted, That any decree or sentence which may have been or shall be made or passed by either of the said Mixed British and Brazilian Commissions established at Rio de Janeiro and Sierra Leone, on any vessel or vessels captured and brought

in before either of the said Commissions from the said Thirteenth day of March last to the said Thirteenth day of September ensuing inclusive by any person or persons in Her Majesty's service acting under any such order or authority as aforesaid, is and shall be good and valid to all intents and purposes.

"III. And whereas, by the said Convention of the Twenty-third day of November, One thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, it was agreed and concluded by and between the high contracting parties, that at the expiration of three years, to be reckoned from the exchange of the ratifications of the said Convention, it should not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor of Brazil to be concerned in the carrying on of the African slave-trade under any pretext or in any manner whatever, and that the carrying on such trade after that period by any person, subject of His Imperial Majesty, should be deemed and treated as piracy: And whereas it has become necessary, for the purpose of carrying into effect the said Convention, that so much of the said Act of the eighth year of the reign and of His late Majesty King George the Fourth as prohibits the High Court of Admiralty and the Courts of Vice Admiralty from exercising jurisdiction over vessels captured in virtue of the said Convention shall be repealed, and that further provisions be made for the due execution of the same; be it enacted, That so much of the said Act as prohibits the High Court of Admiralty or any Court of Vice Admiralty in any part of Her Majesty's dominions from adjudicating on any claim, action, or suit arising out of the said Convention, or as makes any provision for barring any such claim, action, suit, or proceeding in the High Court of Admiralty or any of the said Courts of Vice Admiralty, shall be repealed.

"IV. And be it enacted, That it shall be lawful for Her Majesty's High Court of Admiralty, and any Court of Vice Admiralty within Her Majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of and adjudicate any vessel carrying on the African slave-trade in contravention of the said Convention of the Twenty-third day of November, One thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, and detained and seized on that account subsequently to the said Thirteenth day of March, by any person or persons in the service of Her Majesty, under any order or authority of the Lord High Admiral, or of the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, or of one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State, and the slaves and cargo found therein, in like manner and under the like rules and regulations as are contained in any Act of Parliament now in force in relation to the suppression of the slave-trade by British-owned ships, as fully to all intents and purposes as if such Acts were re-enacted in this Act as to such vessels and to such High Court of Admiralty or Courts of Vice Admiralty.

"V. And be it enacted, That all persons acting under any such order or authority of the Lord High Admiral, or of the Commissioners

for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, or of one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State, shall be freed and indemnified from and against all writs, actions, suits, and proceedings whatever, and all prosecutions and penalties, for being concerned in any search, detention, capture, or condemnation of any vessel which shall have been found carrying on the African slave-trade in contravention of the said Convention of the Twenty-third day of November, One thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, or in the arrest or detention of any person found on board such vessel, or on account of the cargo thereof, or any thing done in relation thereto, and that no action, suit, writ, or proceeding whatever shall be maintained or maintainable in any Court in any part of Her Majesty's dominions against any person for any Act done under any such order or authority as aforesaid.

"VI. And be it enacted, That any ship or vessel which shall be detained under any such order or authority as aforesaid, and shall have been condemned by Her Majesty's High Court of Admiralty, or by any Court of Vice Admiralty, may be taken into Her Majesty's service, upon payment of such sum as the Lord High Admiral or the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, shall deem a proper price for the same, or, if not so taken, shall be broken up and entirely demolished, and the materials thereof shall be publicly sold in separate parts.

"VII. And be it enacted, That every Court of Vice Admiralty shall from time to time, as shall be required by the Lord High Admiral, or Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, certify to the said Lord High Admiral or Commissioners the name of every ship or vessel condemned in such Court of Vice Admiralty under this Act, and the date of the condemnation thereof; and the said Lord High Admiral or Commissioners shall once in every year report to Her Majesty which of the ships or vessels condemned in the said High Court of Admiralty, or in any Court of Vice Admiralty under this Act, have been taken into Her Majesty's service, and which have been broken up, and in each case the amount of the price paid for the same, or sum for which the materials were sold; and a copy of every such report shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within six weeks after the same shall be received, if Parliament be then sitting, or if not, then within six weeks next after the next meeting of Parliament.

"VIII. And be it enacted, That so much of the several enactments set forth in an Act passed in the fifth year of His late Majesty King George the Fourth, intituled 'An Act to amend and consolidate the Laws relating to the Abolition of the Slave-trade,' and in an Act passed in the first year of the reign of his late Majesty, intituled 'An Act to reduce the Rate of Bounties payable upon the Seizure of Slaves,' and in an Act passed in the first year of the reign of Her present Majesty, intituled 'An Act for the better and more effectually carrying into effect the Treaties and Conventions made with Foreign Powers for suppressing the Slave-

trade,' as relates to persons giving false evidence being guilty of perjury; to maintaining and providing for captured slaves pending adjudication; to condemning slaves as forfeitures to the Crown; to rewarding the captors with a bounty on the vessel as well as on the slaves; to authorising the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, if to their discretion it shall seem meet, to order payment of one moiety of the bounty where slaves may not have been condemned or delivered over in consequence of death, sickness, or other inevitable circumstance; to the mode of obtaining such bounties; to authorizing the High Court of Admiralty to determine as to doubtful claims of bounty, and also on any question of joint capture; and to enforcing any decree or sentence of any Vice Admiralty Court; and also the whole of an Act passed in the sixth year of the reign of Her Majesty, intituled 'An Act to amend an Act of the Second and Third Years of Her Majesty, for the suppression of the Slave-trade,' shall be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to all cases of vessels detained and seized for carrying on the African slave-trade in contravention of the said Convention.

"IX. And be it enacted, That this Act may be amended or repealed by any Act to be passed in this Session of Parliament."

PETITION FROM JAMAICA AGAINST THE SLAVE-TRADE.

WE have been requested by some of our friends in Jamaica to give place in our columns for the text of the petition on the subject of the slave-trade to Cuba, from the city and parish of Kingston, Jamaica, which was presented to the House of Lords, on the 18th ult., by Lord Brougham. While we concur most heartily with the petitioners, in their condemnation of the traffic, and generally in the sentiments they express, we do not think gun-boats on the Cuban coast or differential duties on Cuban produce, are likely to prove effectual against the greed and determination of the slave-traders. The only remedy is in the stoppage of the demand, and that demand is likely to cease only when the slave-traders shall discover, that on the part of the Captain-General and the other local authorities there is a determination to punish all who are in any way concerned in new importations. We are glad to record that General Dulce appears, up to this time, to have done his duty in this respect, and we trust he may continue in the same course, and be sustained in it by the Spanish Government.

THE PETITION.

"To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, the humble Petition of certain of the inhabitants of the city and parish of Kingston, Jamaica,

"Sheweth:

"That it is a matter of grave concern and sincere grief to your Memorialists to learn that the trans-Atlantic African slave-trade to Cuba, instead of having diminished, is rather on the increase.

"That your Memorialists believe that the activity and success with which this inhuman and nefarious traffic is prosecuted, are attributable, first, to the impetus which has been given to sugar-production in Cuba, in consequence of the abolition of the differential duties in favour of the free grown article; and secondly, to the facilities enjoyed by those engaged in the slave-trade, from the absence of a blockading force off the coast of that island.

"That this increase of the slave-trade, through which Cuba has rapidly attained to her present extraordinary prosperity, has had the effect not only of reducing the principal agricultural interest of the British West Indies to a state of extreme depression, thereby injuriously affecting all other interests in these colonies, but also of retarding that noble work of negro emancipation in which Great Britain has taken so prominent and formidable a part, and in furtherance of which millions of British money have been spent, and a considerable number of valuable lives sacrificed.

"That your Memorialists view with feelings of indignation, what they cannot but regard as the tacit encouragement given to the Cuban slave-trade by the Spanish Government, notwithstanding the existence of treaties between Spain and England, binding that Power to use her best exertions for the suppression of the trade.

"That in view of the disregard shewn by Spain to her treaty obligations in this matter, your Memorialists are convinced that the only means by which the slave-trade can be suppressed is the adoption of stringent measures on the part of the British Government; among the most effectual of which your Memorialists humbly submit is a vigilant blockade of the coast of Cuba, with the view of intercepting slavers.

"That your Memorialists have learnt with deep regret, that while the British squadron on the North-American and West-India station consists of twenty-six vessels of war, carrying 524 guns, there is but a solitary gun-boat of this large force stationed off the coast of Cuba—a coast fully 700 miles long, and indented with harbours favourable to the prosecution of the illicit traffic in slaves.

"That as past experience has proved the great advantage of employing fast gun-boats off the coasts of that island to intercept slavers; and as the international difficulties which formerly arose out of the disputed question of the right of search are no longer possible, owing to the conclusion of a new treaty between Great Britain and the United States for the suppression of the slave-trade, your Memorialists are of opinion that the present time is most opportune for the Parent Government again to resort to this tried means of destroying the trade.

"That it appears to your Memorialists that the sufferings which for over two years have been experienced by the numerous population employed in the cotton manufacture in England,

furnish a strong reason why the Government of Britain should re-consider and reverse the present imperial policy in respect of the produce of slave-labour, and should discourage and eventually prevent altogether the importation of such produce into Great Britain.

"That your Memorialists would respectfully but earnestly press these matters on the consideration of your Right Honourable House, and express their fervent hope that the Government will meet your cordial co-operation in the adoption of such measures as shall have the effect of putting an end to the slave-trade, and of relieving Jamaica and the other British West-India colonies from the trying disadvantages under which they at present labour, in consequence of being forced to compete in the production of their principal staples with countries where Slavery still exists. And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will every pray,

"(Signed)

"REGINALD KINSTON, Chairman.

"MAU AUGUST,

"GEORGE SOLOMON,

"W. FRANKLIN,

"E. O.

"ROBERT A. JOHNSON,

"Members of the Committee appointed at the Meeting."

CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN AMERICA.

WE record the proceedings of a deputation which has waited upon Viscount Palmerston, with a view to induce him to use his efforts to influence the British Government to take steps for putting a stop to hostilities in the United States. We believe men of all parties sincerely deplore the continuation of this most sanguinary contest, and would rejoice at its termination. At the same time it should be borne in mind, that the gentlemen now endeavouring to bring about this desirable consummation, are many of them prominently identified with the party in the South which commenced the war, and is alone responsible for it. The one method of bringing about an immediate cessation of hostilities is for those who began the strife to return to their allegiance; otherwise, and until one side has cried out "hold, enough," we fear the war will be prosecuted to its bitter end.

"A deputation from the *Society for Obtaining the Cessation of Hostilities in America* waited on the Premier on the 15th ultimo, for the purpose of urging Her Majesty's Government to take steps to bring about peace between the belligerents. The deputation consisted of the following noblemen and gentlemen: The Marquis of Clanricarde, the Bishop of Chichester, Lord Alfred Churchill, M.P.; Mr. Yorke, M.P.; Mr. Marsh, M.P.; Mr. Repton, M.P.; Colonel Grey, M.P.; Mr. Danby Seymour, M.P.; Mr. Spence, of

Liverpool; Admiral Anson, Colonel Halpin, Rev. F. W. Tremlett, Mr. J. R. Fernyhough, Mr. C. Shand, Sir Henry D. Houghton, Bart.; Mr. Bramley-Moore, M.P.; Mr. T. D. Tremlett, Rev. W. W. Malet, Mr. T. Ray, and Dr. Skey, F.R.S., President of the Royal College of Surgeons.

"The deputation having been introduced by the Marquis of Clanricarde, the Rev. F. W. Tremlett, hon. Secretary, at the request of the chairman, Admiral Anson, submitted to the Premier, that from a very large number of letters which the Society had received—especially from the rectors of parishes and other persons—reflecting the state of feeling in the country districts; also from the presentation to Parliament of the petitions from the clergy and laity of various parishes in the counties of Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Cumberland, Lancashire, Sussex, Somersetshire, Warwickshire, Norfolk, Berkshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, Kent, Wiltshire, Lincolnshire, Cornwall, Devonshire, Oxfordshire, and Middlesex; from the counties of Meath, Cavan, Leitrim, Roscommon, Antrim, Longford, Sligo, Queen's County, Waterford, Galway, Tipperary, Cork, and Dublin; and further, from the general tone of feeling and conversation in all social circles, meetings, and the public press, there were good grounds for stating that a strong and increasing feeling exists in the country, that Her Majesty's Government should, if possible, avail itself of its friendly relations with the Federal authorities to bring about a cessation of hostilities in America, that, looking upon the restoration of the Union as impossible, and the independence of the Southern Confederacy as virtually a *fait accompli*, any prolongation of the war could only result in mutual slaughter, and in debt and weakness to both belligerents; and that, bound as both are to us by ties of blood and interest, and impressed, as they must be after three years' experience, with the futility of any advantage from the continuance of so gigantic and sanguinary a contest, it was reasonable to hope that such a proposal, made *bond fide*, would not only stimulate and embolden the large Peace Party in existence in the North, but would be generally acceptable to the majority of the people of both sections. The deputation would further represent, that besides the saving of many thousands of valuable lives, the advantages of a peace to the people of this country would be great. While the direct sufferings of the operatives in the manufacturing districts for the last three years—though borne with heroic fortitude, and met with most Christian liberality—had been of a heartrendering character, and, though mitigated in intensity, still continued to be deeply felt by this deserving and industrious class, the continuance of the war was practically levying a tax in all (in the increased price of cotton and woollen goods) equal in amount to the interest on the National Debt. This war-tax was oppressive to all families of small means, and was specially hard upon the poor. While wages had not increased in the rural districts, the prices of the clothing of the poor had doubled and trebled, wool having risen from 1s. 4d. to 2s. 4d. per lb., and cotton from 6d. to 2s. and 2s. 6d. Moreover,

if we turned to France the war-tax was equally oppressive there. From statements which had lately been obtained from that country, it was estimated that the people of France would have to pay this year, for their cotton jackets, &c., something like 1,000,000,000 francs, or nearly treble the usual peace prices. Other countries, also, had an interest in the re-establishment of peace correspondent to the amount of cotton clothing consumed by their respective populations—which was in Belgium, as in France, 4lb. per head, in Spain, 2½lb. per head, while in Russia and Italy together the consumption scarcely exceeded 1lb. per head. In the United Kingdom the consumption was 9lb. per head. The deputation would therefore submit that the Governments of France, Belgium, and Spain had a special interest in acceding to any proposals which Her Majesty's Government might, in its wisdom and humanity, be pleased to make tending to the re-establishment of peace between the belligerents in North America.

"Mr. SPENCE, one of the Vice-presidents of the Society, said the deputation was devoid of any party character, and would chiefly urge the plea of humanity. At the present moment, if to the battle-fields in Virginia and Georgia were added all the other points at which blood was being shed throughout that vast area, we should probably find that the total destruction of human life was at the rate of 10,000 a week, or half a million a year. And if to this were added the amount of woe befalling orphans, parents, and wives, the sum total of human destruction and misery was such as impelled an effort to bring it to an end. There were also grave evils that would result from a protraction of the war. The shock to the cotton-trade had been endured and surmounted, but that trade was left, and now stood in a most dangerous position. We had present prosperity, but it was based on an artificial and inflated price, and the longer the war lasted, and the wider the ramifications of our trade on this treacherous basis, the more disastrous and dangerous would be the reaction when the day for it arrived. And assuming a separation to be inevitable, it was essentially in the interests of all that each Power should command the respect of the others, and be able to take its proper part in the affairs of the world. Future peace would greatly depend on some degree of equality in power. This could not be if the war must needs go on till it ended through the exhaustion of one of the belligerents. If that exhaustion befel the South, all the old evils of the Union would return, but aggravated a hundred fold by the military power and spirit now developed. If that exhaustion befel the North, it was probable that a disruption would occur among the Northern States, a source of future discord, as destroying those relative proportions which were essential to future peace. The present period was eminently favourable to such an effort as was suggested. In the present posture of affairs the voice of Europe, calmly expressed, could not fail to have its influence. We were urged to inaction by assurances that little time would be needed. Over and over again the period of ninety days was to be final. No less than four years had now been given for this terrible experiment,

and it had been tried in vain. The question now before the North was, whether or not to continue the disastrous effort. There was a peace party, and it was growing, but it had no rallying-point. The action now urged would give them a pivot on which to form, not, indeed, the action of England alone, which was to be deprecated altogether, but that to be taken conjointly by several leading Powers. With such assistance the peace party would rapidly gather strength and numbers, and thus we might reach the issue all desired. And there was a contingency that could not be overlooked with safety. Whether right or wrong, there did exist in the South a feeling of exasperation on the subject of the policy adopted in this country, and if it should happen that terms of peace should be offered and accepted by the South while under this feeling, it might readily be imagined that such terms might be directly aimed, not only at our interests, but our peace and safety. After alluding to the nature of the struggle and the heroic defence of their soil by the people of the South, Mr. Spence said that the deputation felt it a Christian duty to urge that some effort should be made, whatever might be its form, to influence the termination of this deplorable strife.

"Mr. MARSH, M.P., wished to call his lordship's attention to the fact that the opinion that an attempt at mediation would be attended with good results was not confined to England, but was shared by the whole of the South, the peace party of the North, and by the nations of the European continent.

"Mr. DANBY SEYMOUR, M.P., said he joined the deputation entirely on principles of humanity, and without the slightest bias towards either of the belligerents: he was unwilling to see Slavery flourish, but he was equally unwilling to see a nation forced to submit to a Government which they detested.

"The Rev. W. W. MALET said that his experience, gained from a visit both to the Federal and Confederate States during the war, and from intercourse with all classes of persons, both in the North and the South, was, that there was a general weariness of the war and a desire for peace.

"Lord PALMERSTON, in reply, said that two facts were abundantly clear, viz. that the war was cruelly destructive to the Americans themselves, and the inconvenience caused by it to other nations was excessive. The question remained, whether the Government had any rational ground for supposing that the Federal Government would listen to any proposals of mediation at the present moment. There was an old couplet:

'They who in quarrels interpose,
Will often get a bloody nose.'

He was not afraid of a bloody nose, but he feared that premature efforts would only have the effect of exasperating the North, and making it more difficult, when the passions were a little calmed, to effect the object all must have in view. The Government was led to think, from all accounts that reached them, that this was not the moment at which any mediatory

proposals could be usefully made. Each party was equally confident of ultimate success, and the North especially jealous of interference. If, however, at any future time reasonable ground could be shewn for supposing that friendly suggestions would be listened to, Her Majesty's Government would be happy to use their efforts to arrive at such a desirable result as that of terminating this unhappy war.

"Admiral ANSON, Chairman of the Society, having thanked his lordship for his courtesy, the deputation withdrew."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(Continued from p. 182.)

Friday, July 16th.

BRAZIL.

Mr. OSBORNE asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether, pending the existing suspension of political relations between the English and Brazilian Governments, Her Majesty's Ministers had appointed a consul at Rio de Janeiro in succession to the late Consul Westwood, and if so, whom; if it were the intention of her Majesty's Government to appoint a consul at the port of Santos, in succession to the late Consul Huntley; and whether Her Majesty's Ministers considered themselves bound to fulfil the assurance officially conveyed to the Brazilian Government by the Earl of Aberdeen, when Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the 2nd of July 1845, to the effect that "he would be ready to repeal the measure of 1845 on the entire cessation of the slave-trade in Brazil."

Lord PALMERSTON replied that there was no intention at present to appoint a consul at Rio. Mr. Morgan, the consul at Bahia, had been ordered to Rio for the moment, to transact commercial business. The consulship at the port of Santos was vacant, but a gentleman had been appointed for the moment to transact business, but was not appointed as consul. It was not the intention of the Government to propose the repeal of the Act of 1845. He might mention that Lord Aberdeen was at the head of the Government in 1852 and up to 1855, and no steps were taken under his administration to repeal the Act.

Mr. OSBORNE gave notice, that on the motion to go into Committee of Supply he would draw attention to the state of the relations of this country with Brazil.

Monday, July 19th.

OUR RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL.

Mr. B. OSBORNE rose, pursuant to notice, to call the attention of the house to the subject of our relations with Brazil. He said he thought an apology was due to the immense number of holders of Brazilian stock resident in this country, and to all those who were engaged in large transactions with that empire, for bringing forward the subject at the eleventh hour, before a

fatigued House, exhausted with the labours of the session. But exhausted as they were, they were bound to remember the great issue which was at stake in this question, and the unsatisfactory relations which had prevailed for a considerable period with that empire. It was a question which materially affected the credit and responsibility of Her Majesty's Ministers. The case of Brazil might be put briefly. He believed that the empire of Brazil was the one solitary example in the civilized world of the state with which we have enormous commercial transactions without a single treaty of any kind, except the convention of 1826, between that country and England. The commerce carried on between the Brazils and this country was valued at no less than 12,000,000*l.* a year. The Brazilian debt in this country amounted to nearly 9,000,000*l.* There were, moreover, three English companies engaged in making railways in Brazil, who had a guaranteed capital in that country of upwards of 5,000,000*l.*; and there were likewise various other companies composed entirely of Englishmen, and employing English labour, which had undertaken to drain the capital of Brazil and its other towns, and to work its mines; and yet this large English population was unsecured in property and person by any sort of treaty. Now, how had such a state of things occurred, and why was it continued? The cause of the absence of any treaty rested in the meddling and mischievous policy which was always interfering with small States, and subjecting them both to insult and injustice. This policy with respect to the Brazils was not only tyrannical to them, but mischievous in its effects to England. From 1822 to 1844 Brazil was in such a state, owing to the weakness of its finances and of the executive, that the slave-trade was carried on to an enormous extent; but from the period that Brazil became altogether independent the policy of the empire of Brazil was essentially anti-slavery. In the convention of November 1826, there was a remarkable and unexampled provision, to the effect that slave-traders should be deemed to be guilty of piracy. The Brazilian Government did not object to that provision, thereby shewing that they were altogether opposed to the slave-trade. That stipulation was at the bottom of all the bad feeling which now existed towards us in Brazil. The right of search was also granted by the convention, which embodied the treaties on the subject of the slave-trade between this country and Portugal, and the manner in which it was exercised tended to increase that bad feeling. The provisions of the Portuguese treaty were in force from March 1830 to March 1845, when so great was the popular feeling in Brazil against the exercise of the right of search, that the Government of Brazil was forced to give it up, and to notify to the British Government that the adoption of the Portuguese treaty, so far as it was applicable to Brazil, must cease and determine. The English Government at length acquiesced in this arrangement, and that provision of the treaty terminated in 1845, and since then no other treaty existed between England and Brazil

but the first article of the convention of 1826, which still remained. The Government of Lord Aberdeen was in power in 1845, and in speaking of that noble lord, he must do justice to the intrinsic probity, honesty, and good intentions of Lord Aberdeen's character. That noble lord, however, was induced to propose and to recommend that house to pass the Act of the 8th and 9th Vic., c. 122, called the Aberdeen Act, which authorised British cruisers to seize Brazilian ships upon suspicion of being employed in the slave-trade, and to carry them before the British Vice-Admiralty Courts for condemnation. That was an extraordinary Act, and was extensively put in practice. Innumerable vessels were seized and conveyed to St. Helena, to be tried by these courts. This course of proceeding naturally produced a very bad state of feeling towards this country in Brazil. But who spoke against that Act before it was passed? The man who was most opposed to it in that House was the then Attorney-General, Sir Thomas Wilde, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, subsequently Lord High Chancellor of England. That eminent lawyer said it was so illegal and so monstrous, that he thought it impossible England could ever inflict such an act upon any country that was able to resist it. A second great Whig ornament of the House on that occasion spoke loudly against it—namely, the right hon. gentleman the present member for Ashton-under-Lyne (Mr. M. Gibson). He (Mr. Osborne) wished that that right hon. gentleman would only bring his influence to bear upon his noble friend at the head of the Government, with a view to the restoration of amicable relations between the two countries. But the right hon. gentleman had not only spoken against the measure, but he actually brought forward an express motion on the subject, and divided the House upon it. That was a period when large cargoes of slaves were being brought to the Brazilian coast. What would the right hon. gentleman say now that the Brazilian slave-trade had altogether ceased? How could he reconcile it to himself to sit cheek by jowl with the noble lord at the head of the Government? But Lord Aberdeen had never intended that Act to be permanent, for in one of his despatches, dated June 2, 1845, he distinctly stated that the British Government would be ready, as soon as the measures of the Brazilian Government would enable them to recommend the British Parliament to repeal that Act. That was an express pledge that the Act should be repealed so soon as the circumstances which called it forth would justify such a course. But Brazil was a weak state, and was therefore a proper one to be experimentalized upon by the policy of the noble lord. They had no navy, and what could they do but submit? They certainly protested against the Act as an infraction of the law of nations, and refused altogether to enter into any commercial treaty with this country until that Act was repealed. Their protest, however, was treated as the protests of all States were treated who had not Armstrong guns to enforce them. But not content with the Act which empowered British cruisers to seize Brazilian vessels on the high seas upon

mere suspicion, the noble lord, in 1850, ordered our cruisers to do an act which he (Mr. Osborne) believed had never been done before under similar circumstances, namely, to enter Brazilian waters, and invade Brazilian ports, and cut out vessels in those ports. That system was carried on for two years, but did not succeed then in stopping the slave-trade. Although the feelings of the Brazilians were greatly against the slave-trade—which in fact had not been carried on by the Brazilians themselves, but by foreign capitalists and foreign adventurers—by those who had great mortgages on the property of Brazilian planters, by Americans, Spaniards, Portuguese, and, it was even whispered, by Liverpool merchants—the Brazilians were so disgusted by our conduct towards them, that they declined to give their assistance during that time to put down the slave-trade. In subsequent years, however, great exertions were made by the Brazilian Government to put down the traffic in slaves, and with such success, that the noble lord himself, in May 1851, wrote as follows to Lord Howden, our Ambassador at Madrid, enclosing a copy of the Brazilian laws, and holding up Brazil as an example to the Spanish and Portuguese Governments. The words of the noble lord were, “No reasonable doubt can now be entertained, that if the same system, energetically pursued by Brazil during the last twelve months, had been acted upon by the other Governments, the slave-trade in Brazil would be almost entirely extinguished.” So great, indeed, was the success of the exertions of the Brazilian Government in this respect, that in April 1852 the Earl of Malmesbury, then Foreign Minister, withdrew the order for British cruisers to enter Brazilian waters, which was given by the noble lord in 1850. And he (Mr. Osborne) must say that the whole conduct in this matter of the Earl of Malmesbury, who had been at times so well abused by certain hon. members on that (the ministerial) side of the house, reflected great credit upon that noble lord. In consequence of that act of the noble lord, British cruisers ceased to enter Brazilian waters, and the Brazilian chambers redoubled their efforts to reduce the slave-trade. In 1853 a Committee of that House sat upon that subject, of which the right hon. baronet the member for Droitwich (Sir J. Parkington) and the noble lord the member for King’s Lynn (Lord Stanley) formed a part. That Committee, of which Mr. Hume was president, came to the conclusion that so great had been the exertions of the Brazilian Government for the extinction of the slave-trade, that it would be right for Parliament to consider the propriety of repealing the obnoxious Act. Those exertions had not since been relaxed, and he might say that the Brazilian slave-trade had ceased to exist. In point of fact, only two cargoes of slaves had been attempted to be run during the intervening period, one in 1853 and the other in 1856. In one of these cases the ship was captured in Brazilian waters by a Brazilian crew, the captain of the slaver was severely punished, and the slaves were liberated. The other case occurred in the bay of Serinahem. It was that of a vessel running 250 Africans. She

was chased by a cruiser and captured. Forty-seven of the slaves were stolen, but they were subsequently re-taken, all but three. Since that time no slave had been seen on the coast of Brazil. The noble lord the first minister of the Crown, in June 1856, when speaking of the slave-trade in Brazil, said: “The slave-trade might be regarded as extinct at the Brazils, for although attempts had been made to revive it, they had not been attended with success. There was generally evinced at the Brazils a spirit of determined hostility to that traffic.” It was a curious fact, that upon 200 miles of railway made by English companies in Brazil there was not a single slave employed upon them. Moreover, he must say, to the honour of the Prince de Joinville, who had married a Portuguese princess, that by his exertions, and the spirit of the Brazilian Government, free-labour had almost wholly superseded slave-labour. What had been the conduct of Her Majesty’s Government, and what had been the conduct of that House? That Act, which had caused so much irritation to the Brazilians, and was universally considered by them as an injustice and an insult, was never, up to the present moment, repealed. It still remained on the statute-book, doing infinite mischief, and making our policy a byword amongst the nations. What occurred last year? They all remembered the case of the *Forte*, in reference to which a British frigate made several reprisals upon the Brazilians. That case was afterwards referred to the arbitration of the King of the Belgians, who gave his decision, in June 1863, that the British officers were altogether in the wrong. (Lord Palmerston: No, no.) Did the noble lord contradict that statement? (Lord Palmerston: Yes.) Well, really the noble lord had a face to contradict anything. He (Mr. Osborne) did not expect such a contradiction, and had not, therefore, come prepared with the document; but it shewed how careful one should be in such matters. The King of the Belgians, at all events, said that the British officers were in the wrong, and that some compensation ought to be given to the Brazilian authorities for what had taken place. Such were the substantial facts, although the noble lord might get off on some quibble of words. What happened in 1859? In that year the British cruisers captured and retained a steamer belonging to the republic of Paraguay on the river Plate. An apology, however, was made in 1862 by Mr. Doria, our *chargé d’affaires* in that part of the world, on the part of the noble lord. It was the first apology the noble lord had ever made, and it ought, therefore, to be framed in letters of gold, and that apology expressed regret to the republic of Paraguay, for the affront which had been put upon them in the seizure of their vessel. He thought the noble lord would not deny that an apology was made; and from that day to this no concession of any sort had been made to the Brazilian Government. Did the Under Secretary dispute that, because he had contradicted him (Mr. Osborne) on former occasions, and he yet retained his office? They had had two debates incidentally upon this subject, and why or wherefore the question of humiliation had been referred to the Portuguese

Government, or why or wherefore irritating language should have been used, passed his comprehension; but such had been done by the noble lord at the head of the Foreign Office. But Lord Russell, writing on a former occasion to Mr. Christie, said the Brazilian Government had acted in perfect good faith, and that it would be advisable, in referring to the emancipated negroes, to avoid irritating the Brazilian Government, which had, by the use of language in this country, been so long irritated. That was in 1861. But how would the Portuguese Government reconcile the language used in 1864 by the noble lord at the head of the Government? He would like to ask the noble lord whether he thought the Brazilian Government would continue their negotiations after the use by him of such language. He might be contradicted again, but he had a despatch in his pocket which might enable him to give some information to that Foreign Office which was at once ignorant and insolent. Then what was the policy of the Brazilian Government in regard to these emancipados? By a decree of December 1853, the Brazilian Government forbade altogether that any emancipated negro should be apprenticed to private individuals, except with the consent of the Government, and that was a most material step on the part of that Government; but it has been denied in that House that any negro had been emancipated. He would assert that there had been, and he would challenge contradiction. In 1860 and 1861 there was 261 emancipated; in 1862 and 1863 there were 147; and down to May last there were 71; making altogether upwards of 470 emancipated; and yet in the teeth of all that it was denied by the first minister that any satisfaction had been given by the Brazilian Government on this point, and that that Government had taken steps to emancipate these men. It was said the other night by the first minister that there were twenty requirements, without complying with which no negro could attain his freedom. That was gravely stated from the Treasury bench to the House. At that time he was much puzzled to know where the information came from. They all knew that this country had agents scattered about the world for the purpose of supplying the Government with information; and Mr. Christie, while at Brazil in 1863, forwarded these requirements to the noble lord, knowing his strong feelings against the Brazilian Government. But where did Mr. Christie get this information from? From an official document? By no means; but from an opposition paper, half *Owl* half *Punch*. Mr. Christie cut these requirements out, and sent them to the noble lord; and the noble lord produced them to the House as from an official document. Now, what would the noble lord say if a Brazilian minister produced *Punch's* "Essence of Parliament" to the Brazilian Chambers as being authentic? Then was it not too bad for the first minister of the Crown to come down to the House and state these things to the injury of the mercantile community in Brazil? He would ask, in sober sadness, what was the policy of the noble lord towards Brazil? Was it a hostile policy? He believed that the Brazilian Government had only to move in the

matter, and object to the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and they would get the Act of 1845 repealed. The understanding in Brazil was that that Act would be repealed; and when he said the other night that the Earl of Aberdeen intended to repeal it, the noble lord asked why the noble earl did not repeal the Act when he was in power? He (Mr. Osborne) would tell him why—because the noble lord was a member of the Earl of Aberdeen's cabinet, and it was always understood that the noble lord was a very awkward member of that cabinet. And no doubt the Earl of Aberdeen would have endeavoured to repeal that Act if the noble lord had not been a member of his cabinet; for the noble earl, in 1853, said in another place that nothing would give him so much pleasure as to repeal that Act; that he was not sure the time had not arrived for its repeal; and that it was a matter for the consideration of the Government; and yet 1864 had arrived, and the slave-trade in Brazil had long since been extinguished, and the Act still remained in force. Now he would just observe that the use of menacing language towards Brazil was not the way to treat that country; and if the Government wished to resume friendly relations, they ought to propose the repeal of the Act of 1845. But the noble lord said that if that Act was repealed, the Brazilians would only be too happy, as it would enable them to revive the slave-trade. He denied that such a result would follow, and would assert that the Brazilian Government had entered into a consular convention with this country, as they had done with France, and would also enter into a postal convention; but the Brazilian Government would not do this except upon the condition of Her Majesty's Government repealing this Act of 1845. There never was a better time than the present for repealing that obnoxious Act; and he understood that the new Parliament of Brazil, which first sat in February last, was in such a temper, that if Her Majesty's Government would repeal this Act, they would recommend the entering into a commercial treaty with this country. The Act ought therefore to be repealed, for it was most injurious to the Brazilian Government and to the commerce between the two countries.

LORD PALMERSTON: The hon. gentleman recommends mildness of language, of which he is a great master, and it is my intention rather to follow him in that way—to follow his precept than to follow his example and his language. The hon. gentleman says I am a great hand at denying. If I may return the compliment, I would say that he is a great hand at asserting. I know, as everybody knows, the source from which the hon. gentleman draws his information relative to the Brazils. (Mr. B. Osborne: "Name, name.") There are active Brazilian agents in this country. (Mr. B. Osborne: "I deny it.") I do not like to name individuals in this House, but the hon. gentleman knows whom I mean. (Mr. B. Osborne: "I do not.") There are active Brazilian agents in this country ready to supply information, which I sometimes think is incorrect information, to those who are willing to take up their cause. I do not blame them for so doing, but I only wish those who

adopt it would, in their duty to themselves as well as to the House, first ascertain that that which they are about to state is correct. There is much in the hon. gentleman's speech to provoke me to go into an angry discussion on this subject. (Mr. B. Osborne: "Be provoked, then.") I will not be. The House knows that we are now engaged with the Portuguese Government in negotiation, the object of which is the establishment of diplomatic relations between this country and Brazil. I do not think the hon. gentleman has shewn much judgment in endeavouring to bring on a controversial discussion upon this matter just at the moment when one of the consequences might be, if I were to go into a discussion of the details to which he has referred, that I might be led into saying things which he would again condemn as being unfavourable to the relations between the two countries. Therefore I trust the House will think that I am better performing my duty in abstaining from going into these details; but I would rather impress upon the house the present state of our relations with Brazil; and, in doing so, I will just state what has been the amount of our imports from, and our exports to, Brazil, within a certain period of time. From 1850 to 1852, our imports from Brazil varied from 2,000,000*l.* to some hundred thousands more, and our exports from 2,000,000*l.* to 3,000,000*l.* From 1860 to this time our imports from Brazil had been, in 1860, 2,200,000*l.*; in 1861, they were 2,600,000*l.*; in 1862, they were 4,400,000*l.*; and in 1863 they were 4,500,000*l.* Now that is not a state of things which shews that our commerce has greatly suffered. Then, again, our exports to Brazil were, from 1850 to 1852, between 2,000,000*l.* and 3,500,000*l.*; in 1860, 4,500,000*l.*; in 1861 they were rather more than 4,500,000*l.*; and in 1863 they were 3,700,000*l.* Therefore, as far as our commercial intercourse goes, it cannot be said that our commerce has suffered in consequence of those matters which, to a certain degree, have created an amount of irritation on the part of the Brazilians. It is quite true that Brazil has, since 1852, ceased carrying on the slave-trade, and that the Brazilian Government has passed laws and established regulations which have, I believe, prevented any material importation of slaves into Brazil. But I would just remind the hon. gentleman that the whole population of Brazil amounts to only 7,500,000, out of which there are 3,000,000 of slaves, or only 1,000,000 short of those in the Southern States of America. There are, however, 10,000 emancipados. (Mr Osborne: "There are more.") That makes against him when he states that in four years only 400 odd of these emancipados had been set free. So that it will take some years to obtain emancipation for all of them. I must, however, decline going into a controversial and argumentative discussion upon these subjects. I am most anxious that the negotiations now going on should succeed, and I think the House will act better if they will not enter upon a discussion at this time, and not allow things to be stated on one side or the other which might revive angry feelings, and embarrass those negotiations which the Portuguese Government have undertaken from

the best motives and the best possible spirit to carry on.

Mr. S. FITZGERALD.—The speech of the noble lord is so different in spirit to the one he delivered on a former occasion, that perhaps the House will excuse me if I made a few observations. The noble lord has appeared in a new character, particularly with regard to Brazil, and says he thinks the House will be of opinion that he would best discharge his duty by using moderate language, and avoid irritating language towards the Brazilian Government. I think that cheer shews the noble lord that it is the opinion of the House that he will best discharge his duty in not using irritating language towards the Brazilian Government. I can only express my regret, which is joined in by every hon. member, that what the noble lord feels to be his duty now, he did not feel to be his duty on a former occasion. Now, what was the language which the noble lord used towards the Brazilian Government in this House the other evening? He said their conduct was flagrant, disgraceful, and flagitious, and he went on to say to the House, that instead of giving credit to the Brazilian Government for their attempts to put down the slave-trade, it was only under the fear of the Aberdeen Act that the slave-trade was not carried on now. The noble lord refused to give the Brazilian Government credit, though all the world knows they have been actuated by the most noble and praiseworthy conduct in their endeavours to suppress the slave-trade. The noble lord may laugh, but that was the opinion expressed by Lord Brougham in another place on a recent occasion, when he said the conduct of the Brazilian Government merited all praise, and yet the noble lord thought fit, in the performance of his duty, to use such language as flagrant, disgraceful, and flagitious. But the noble lord did not confine his courtesies of language to that Government, for he told me it argued great ignorance that I did not know of the contents of the document to which he then referred. It now appears that the quotation was a squib from an opposition paper, and that it was cut out by our Minister, and sent home to the noble lord. It has never been laid on the table of the House, but has appeared in a Blue-book, which is not distributed to members; and yet this was the document which the noble lord, in the exercise of his courteous language, said to a member on the opposition side of the House was a mark of the grossest ignorance on my part. Now, I have a number of statements, derived from Blue-books, not derived from Brazilian sources, which shew that the Brazilian Government have the greatest difficulty to contend with in dealing with the emancipados, for the country is extensive, and the plantations are separated by vast distances, and the emancipados having been placed on various estates, there is great difficulty in obtaining an account of them. But during the last few years the Brazilian Government have exercised a most praiseworthy zeal in dealing with these people, and I will defy the hon. Under-Secretary to shew that the Brazilian Government have not exhibited the most anxious desire to carry into effect the treaty in reference to them. I will not detain the House longer,

but I could not help congratulating the noble lord upon the new course which he has adopted, and I hope he will continue in it for the future, and use moderate language to all countries, and that he will not use offensive language to members in this House.

LORD PALMERSTON: I did not reproach the hon. gentleman with not knowing the contents of the document referred to, and which was laid on the table last year. But what I meant was, that the hon. gentleman having been at the Foreign-office, must have known the general conduct of the Brazilian Government in respect to the emancipados, and that frequent applications had been made to them for lists, which we had not been able to obtain.

MR. S. FITZGERALD said he did not know it. It never came before him in the shape in which the noble lord had put it.

SIR H. CAIRNS said, that in his opinion so long as the Aberdeen Act was not repealed their relations with Brazil could not be much improved. He knew from gentlemen connected with Brazil that serious apprehensions prevailed amongst them in reference to the safety of some three or four millions of property in that country. He trusted that the Government would seriously consider this matter, and not allow themselves to remain under the delusion that the trade between the two countries would not suffer by the present unhappy state of things. The noble lord pointed to the returns shewing an increase in the exports and imports, but would the noble lord contradict what he (Sir H. Cairns) stated from his personal knowledge, that the very persons to whom the merchandise represented by the returns belonged, were filled with apprehensions with regard to the risks they were running? They would tell the noble lord, too, that the exports and imports would perhaps have been doubled but for the present state of things complained of. There were merchants in this country who at this moment had claims against the Brazilian Government to the extent of several hundred thousand pounds, the justice of which had never been disputed. An attempt was made to settle and adjust these claims by means of a mixed commission, but by reason of the bad terms on which Her Majesty's Government stood in relation to the Brazilian Government, the attempt had, up to this moment, utterly failed. He would tell Her Majesty's Government, also from his own personal communication with merchants interested in that question—he could state that they had ceased to importune the Foreign-Office with regard to the resumption of diplomatic arrangements, simply because they were firmly and finally convinced of the determined and inveterate hostility which was felt by the noble lord and the Foreign-Office towards the Government of Brazil; and he must say, that when they heard such language in that House as they heard not many days ago from the noble lord, that impression of the merchants of this country must necessarily be confirmed. Reference had been made by the hon. gentleman who introduced the discussion to the Aberdeen Act as being

the primary and chief source of the bitter feeling between this country and Brazil. He (Sir H. Cairns) would set down as the causes of the rupture of diplomatic relations, the Aberdeen Act and the language of the noble lord. The noble lord had not that evening ventured to say a word on the subject of the Aberdeen Act; but he would say, as he had done before, that, reviewing the question as one of international law, he had never yet looked upon that Act without a feeling of utter amazement. He believed firmly that there was not a country in the world of whose strength they had any reason to be afraid against which they would ever have ventured to direct a measure like that. He would tell the House how the Aberdeen Act happened to pass. It was because Sir Robert Peel was persuaded to bring in, under the sanction of his Government, a Bill which the noble lord (Lord Palmerston), at that time in opposition, supported; thereby neutralizing the opposition to it. But what did Sir Robert Peel say in reference to it? Let any one who wished to know the history and the merits of the Act refer to the debates on the subject in 1845. Sir Robert Peel stated at that time that he felt it to be a most extreme and extraordinary measure; he stopped the course of it for some days while he considered whether the objections of Sir Thomas Wilde could be answered; and he came back to the House and said that it seemed a very strong measure for them to legislate for Brazilian subjects; "but," he added, "although we have got the treaty of 1826, which stipulates that the slave-trade shall be treated as piracy on the part of Brazil, we will not venture to deal in our legislation with the persons and lives of Brazilian subjects; we will only deal with their property." He (Sir H. Cairns) would like to know what greater right they had to deal with their property than with their persons and lives? The vice of the Aberdeen Act was seen in those words—condemnation was thus branded upon it by Sir Robert Peel. Let any one read the speech of the Attorney-General of the day, who attempted to defend the measure, and say whether or not it was an answer to the objections of Sir Thomas Wilde. It was, in fact, a most offensive stipulation in the treaty between the two countries that it should not be lawful for the subjects of the empire of Brazil to be concerned in carrying on the slave-trade. What did that mean? Did it mean that that House was to legislate against the subjects of Brazil, and punish them for being concerned in the slave-trade? The meaning of the expression "it shall not be lawful" was, that the Brazilians were to undertake that they would pass in their Legislature municipal laws to punish their own subjects in their own jurisdiction. He said again that there was not a nation that could have asserted their rights who would not have declared that that was a most flagrant attempt to infringe on their independence and sovereignty, and resented it in that light.

MR. NEWDEGATE said he rose to do an act of justice. The hon. member for Liskeard had spoken in terms of reprobation of Mr. Christie.

Mr. B. OSBORNE begged pardon; he said that Mr. Christie was universally unpopular in Brazil.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said the hon member observed that Mr. Christie had been somehow or other provided for in this country. Whatever Mr. Christie derived from this country he had earned by honest service. The hon. member imputed to him the having sent home an extract from a Brazilian newspaper, which was quoted by the noble lord (Lord Palmerston). Mr. Christie did no such thing. He held in his hands papers which were accessible to every member of that House, shewing clearly that that extract was sent by Mr. Elliott, the present *chargé d'affaires*, subsequent to Mr. Christie's recall. The substance of that debate shewed that Mr. Christie was not likely to meet with justice at the hands of the Brazilian Government. It appeared that the Government of Brazil were seeking to compel that House to repeal an Act of Parliament by persecuting Englishmen in Brazil. Such had been the corruption among the Brazilian judges, that seven of them had been displaced since the difference between England and Brazil was referred to arbitration.* He held in his hand a letter from a high official of the name of Joseno Masimento Silva, with reference to the case of a Mr. Reeves, which was under adjudication in Brazil. Mr. Reeves was a joint claimant of a sum of 20,000*l.* With the permission of the House he would read the letter of the eminent person in Brazil, to whom he had referred, to the judge who was to try the case: "Most illustrious judge,—Your honour is a judge in a cause in which an Englishman, Reeves, denies the maternity of a lady (it was a question of succession) in order to deprive her of an inheritance from her son. I am so convinced of the right of this lady that I take the liberty of asking you to vote against Mr. Reeves. Read the arguments and compare them with the proofs, and you will see that what I ask is just. I thank you by anticipation for your kindness, and I beg you to give your orders to your most obedient, affectionate friend." He could multiply proofs of these attempts to corrupt the judges who were engaged in trying cases between Brazilians and Englishmen. He hoped the result of this discussion would be to shew, that if harsh measures appeared to have been used towards Brazil, it must be borne in mind that Brazil had been persecuting English subjects, had refused to answer notes of the English Government, and had maligned Mr. Christie by agents here, as well as at Brazil. They must remember the animus manifested by Brazil, and that Brazil was trying by these means to coerce Parliament to repeal the Act, which was certainly justifiable at the time when it was passed, if the accounts received as to the state of the internal slave-trade were true. He believed that the Act was necessary still; for the price of slaves was rising, and that was, he suspected, one thing which made the Brazilians so anxious to obtain the repeal of the act in question. Within Brazil, at this moment, the internal slave-trade was of a most painful character. Slaves were torn from

one province to be sent to another—husbands being separated from their wives, and parents from their children, and children from ten to twelve years of age were sold. This was the state of things under which they were asked to abandon their interference. If ever there were a case for interference against the renewal of the slave-trade, this was one; and he thanked Government that, according to the hon. member for Liskeard, our countrymen in Brazil had discarded that infernal traffic in the undertakings in which they were engaged.

Mr. T. BARING said the hon. member (Mr. Newdegate) had rather wandered from the question. The question was not whether Mr. Christie had been ill used, or whether Brazilian judges were corrupt, but whether, by conciliation and moderate language, they were not likely to promote friendly relations with Brazil, to increase their commerce, to obtain justice for Englishmen, and to succeed in those negotiations which were now taking place. The Act of Lord Aberdeen was not levelled against the internal slave-trade, but against the foreign traffic; and the foreign slave-trade having ceased, the case of the hon. member fell to the ground. The question was, whether they should enter upon a general system of conciliation towards other countries, instead of persisting in a taunting, irritating, and unfortunate policy.

The subject then dropped.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 21st.

THE GOVERNORS OF CUBA AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Lord BROUGHAM said he had received a letter from his noble friend, Lord Howden, complaining that when he accused the Spanish Governors of Cuba of having taken bribes and encouraged the slave-trade, he made no exception of General Dulce. The fact was, however, that he did state on the occasion referred to that General Dulce formed an exception; and ten days before, in contrasting the conduct of the Government of Spain with that of Brazil, he bore testimony in favour of General Dulce. But praise did not penetrate the walls of that House as vituperation did, and the reason was, that the former did not bear the same price in the market. If all the Spanish Governors had been but half as good as General Dulce, the slave-trade would now be probably at an end. Lord Howden had expressed a strong opinion that the Aberdeen Act ought no longer to be maintained, because the Brazilians had entirely abolished the slave-trade. Lord Aberdeen himself, in 1856, declared, that either in the event of the slave-trade ceasing, or the Convention being renewed, he would be disposed to move for the repeal of that Act. Though not liable to the charge of having neglected to praise General Dulce, he had made an omission of which the Jamaica petitioners complained, and that was, that he had not given Admiral Hope the credit so justly due to him. Admiral Hope was a gallant officer, who had in every respect performed his duty with respect to the Cuban slave-trade, and had also distinguished himself in the East. It was with the greatest pleasure that he bore testimony to his merits, as he was the son of a friend, the late President of the Court of Session in Scotland.

* This is an error. The Judges having completed their term of service, were placed, in course, upon the retired list.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 25th.

THE CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

Mr. LINDSAY, before putting the question of which he had given notice, said he had desired to have made a statement, containing some important facts bearing upon the American war, and tending to shew how futile was the attempt to restore the Union and to coerce the South; but as he had no opportunity now of doing so, he begged simply to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if, considering the great sacrifice of life and property occasioned by the war still raging between the United States of America and the Confederate States, and considering the loss the people of this country have suffered by the war, it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government, in concert with the other Powers of Europe, to use their endeavours to bring about a suspension of hostilities.

Lord PALMERSTON: I can assure my hon. friend that Her Majesty's Government deeply lament the great sacrifice of life and property in America, and the distress which that war has produced in this country. But we have not thought that in the present state of things there was any advantage to be gained by entering into concert with any other Powers for the purpose of proposing or offering mediation, or of negotiating with the Government of the United States, or of the Confederate States, to bring about a termination of this unhappy war.

MR. COBDEN AND THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

THE following letter from Mr. Cobden, on the American question, has been published in the American papers:

"Midhurst, Sussex, April 4, 1864.

DEAR SIR—I have duly received your letter, inclosing a copy of resolutions passed at a meeting of the Denver Council of the Union League of America, thanking me for the sympathy I have expressed for the cause of the government and people of the free United States in their struggle against the confederacy of rebellious slaveowners. It was to me a source of painful regret and disappointment when I witnessed the resort to physical force for the settlement of the controversy which had so long raged between the advocates of freedom on one side and Slavery on the other. I had fondly hoped that the New World had found a system of government by which the people could live in peace, or, in case of necessity, separate without appealing to the arbitrement of the sword. From the moment, however, that the first shot was unhappily fired at Fort Sumter from the Confederate batteries, the issue of the conflict depended no longer on argument, or appeals to reason or religion, but upon force alone; and thenceforward my

sympathies followed your commanders and soldiers to the field, with all the interest in their terrible efforts which I had felt in the labours of Mr. Sumner and the other champions of freedom when their struggle was confined to the domain of peaceful argument. I felt quite confident from the first, that however your politicians might shrink from the solution of the problem, the question really at issue was the existence of Slavery on the whole North American continent. To doubt the result would be almost to call in question the exercise of a Divine authority over the affairs of this world. Whatever else may arise to grieve and disappoint us in the course of this fearful civil war, we may at least feel assured that it will effectually eradicate for ever the evils from which your sufferings have sprung; and although I must always enter my protest against the doctrine that the good ends of Providence cannot be attained by peaceful means, yet, if it can be shewn that, as the result of this war, four millions of human beings have been elevated from the condition of mere chattels to the rank of free men, it will be an atonement and a consolation for the horrors with which it has been accompanied, such as have never yet been afforded in the annals of human warfare. I beg to thank you and the gentlemen with whom you are associated for the kind expressions conveyed in your letter, and I remain, dear sir, yours sincerely,

"RICHARD COBDEN.

"Simeon Whiteley, Esq. President, &c."

FREE LABOUR IN NORTH CAROLINA.

THE *Newbern* (North Carolina) *Times* of June 4th, says:

"Old slaveholders themselves, who are honest and candid, are forced to admit the just and vastly superior claims of free-labour. They see the sluggish and enervated labouring population accustomed to live around them, animated with new hopes and fresh vigour. The vacant and idle lands lying in vast tracts in every locality and county, are being reclaimed with remarkable rapidity. The results this year alone within the old counties of Craven and Carteret, will be perfectly astounding to the ancient friends and sticklers of the worn-out institution of slavery. If these happy results can be achieved at this early period, who can estimate the radical and tremendous changes which are sure to occur when all the blessings of the free-labour policy are sanctioned, protected, and defended by wise and humane laws, adopted under a free-State constitution."